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1912

TAFT MUST WIN!!

Every Citizen in Jeopardy.

JK2358
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1912

"AS GOES NEW YORK, SO GOES THE ELECTION."

In 1908 the vote of this state for Presidential electors was:

Taft -	870,070
Bryan -	667,468
TAFT'S PLURALITY	202,602

Last fall, in an "off year," with only members of the Assembly to elect, the Republican Party carried the state by:

100,196.

No "assistance" was received from Mr. Roosevelt in that campaign, and the verdict of 1910 was emphatically reversed.

D. OF D.
NOV 22 1914

Every Citizen in Jeopardy!

From the beginning of time the world has been agitated by the demand for the rights of man. In 1776 at Philadelphia far-seeing men declared in a "document of independence" that man had certain inalienable rights. In 1787, after the war for political independence was over, a Constitution for the people of the United States was adopted. That document read into our organic law fundamental principles of human liberty established in the Declaration of Independence, and the people of the United States at that time made a covenant with every individual in the United States that the people would not, through their sovereign power, take from him his rights as an individual.

For the first time in the history of this nation the principle upon which this government was founded, that the individual has certain rights—those of life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness and the ownership of property—which the people will not take from him, is assailed. One of

the candidates for the presidential office —Mr. Roosevelt—on the 21st day of February, 1912, at Columbus, advanced the revolutionary doctrine that these rights of the individual could be taken away by popular vote.

Again and again he has asserted that doctrine, and it is a part of the platform of the newly-organized party which he has created.

Every American citizen should understand the menace that lies in this proposal; that his right to worship God as he pleases, his right to a trial by jury, his right to own property, his right, when accused, to be confronted with his accuser, are assailed by the doctrine known as the recall of judicial decisions; that the courts which have been established to protect him in his inalienable rights under the Constitution will have no power to save him or what he may possess from being placed in jeopardy by a majority vote of the community in which he lives. That such power rests with the people in other nations is no reason why it should be established in free America, and it is just the reason why it should not be. This nation came into being for the very purpose of providing a refuge from the tyranny of a sovereign. The tyranny of a pure democracy is equally abhorrent.

Capt
N. H. Rept. Store
Comm
S. 18 '12

TAFT MUST WIN!!!

History repeats itself.

In 1892 the platform of the Democratic party denounced a protective tariff as "unconstitutional." It does so again in 1912.

In 1892 a member of the Wilson family was large in the public eye as an effective advocate of free trade. Once again, in 1912, a member of the Wilson family is a candidate on a free trade platform.

In 1892 there was a general spirit of unrest and the business men of the country forgot their duty to themselves, and even doubted whether their prosperity was due to the Republican policy of Protection.

RESULT—The election of a Democratic candidate for President,

the adoption of the WILSON Free Trade Tariff—a Panic that shattered business, dissipated capital, degraded labor, and presented an object lesson in practical economics, which it has taken the country twenty years to forget.

IF YOU HAVE NOT FORGOTTEN THE PANIC OF 1893 YOURSELF, HELP US TO REMIND OTHERS.

Why not point out to your friends or employees that the question is not one of "minimum wage" under a free trade tariff; but of a maximum wage under a protective tariff?

WHY NOT ASSIST US TO DO IT?

To assure the maximum wage and guard the country from a flood of minimum-wage imports—

TAFT MUST WIN.

Bryan Still The Issue

BRYAN dominated the Democratic National Convention.

BRYAN wrote the Democratic Platform.

BRYAN'S influence nominated Wilson.

BRYAN has convictions. Wilson has none that he has not recanted.

BRYAN never recants.

BRYAN would be Wilson's entire cabinet.

BRYAN'S influence would dominate Wilson's administration as he did the Democratic Convention.

BRYAN would use the power of the government to promote his pet fallacies—adopted by Wilson.

A Republican vote cast for either Wilson or Roosevelt in the coming election is a vote for

BRYAN !!!

Free Trade vs. Protection.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

We reaffirm our belief in a protective tariff. The Republican tariff policy has been of the greatest benefit to the country, developing our resources, diversifying our industries and protecting our workmen against competition with cheaper labor abroad, thus establishing for our wage-earners the American standard of living.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government under the Constitution has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties except for the purposes of revenue, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of government honestly and economically administered.

A Revenue Tariff is "Free Trade."

Any man of average intelligence could draw a tariff bill that would produce revenue more than sufficient to meet all the expenses of the national government. The only problem would be to make the duties imposed so low that importation would be encouraged, yet high enough to produce the necessary revenue for the support of government; for it is obvious that, if all duties were so high that they were prohibitive, there would be no imports, and, hence, no revenue. It is equally plain that, if the duties were too low, the revenue produced by them would be insufficient. To discover the mean between these extremes is the only problem of a "tariff for revenue" or "free trade" tariff.

Now, if the tariff be regulated merely to encourage importation and get revenue, and nothing is done to encourage exports, it is patent that the balance of trade must soon set against any country which adopts that policy, for the government has added its own weight to the adverse end of the tilting board. If the balance of trade turns against us, ex-

ports of gold must follow to pay that balance, and national impoverishment ensues as surely as result treads on the heels of cause.

To confuse the issue Democratic newspapers are contending in protectionist districts that a tariff for revenue is not a free trade tariff. On the other hand, the frank free trader argues that the Law of Supply and Demand should be left free to work itself out as a decree of Providence with which it is futile, if not impious to contend.

Supply and Demand is a law of trade and commerce, as beneficent, when guided by the mind of man, as it is often cruel and brutal, when left to play like the uncontrolled elements of nature.

A protective tariff seeks to guide, control and harness that law to the purposes of human need and endeavor. Its fruitful application involves expert knowledge and economic study. Such application cannot, in the nature of the case, be made by the average voter; but an enlightened body politic is not likely to become a body impolitic. It can and should declare that the laws of self-interest and self-protection are higher laws than that of supply and demand.

The plain issue between the Republican and Democratic parties is a regulative, protective, scientific tariff on the one hand and a "tariff for revenue" or "free trade" tariff on the other.

Wilson's Doctrine.

Extract from speech of Woodrow Wilson, Democratic candidate for President, August 15, 1912: "If prosperity is not to be checked in this country, we must broaden our borders and make conquest of the markets of the world. That is the reason that America is so deeply interested in the question of the merchant marine.....and that is also the reason why America is so much interested in breaking down, wherever it is possible without danger, that dam against which all the tides of our prosperity have banked up—that great dam that runs around all our coasts, and which we call the protective tariff. I would prefer to call it the restrictive tariff. I would prefer to call it the tariff that holds us back. I would prefer to call it the tariff that hems us in, the tariff that chokes us, the tariff that smothers us, because the great unmatched energy of America is now waiting for a field greater than America itself in which to prove that Americans can take care of themselves."

Taft's Doctrine.

(From Taft's Speech of Acceptance.)

"During this administration everything that has been possible has been done to increase our foreign trade, and under the Payne bill the maximum and minimum clause furnished the opportunity for removing discriminations in that trade, so that the statistics show that our exports and imports reached for the year ending July 1, 1912, a higher figure than ever before in the history of the country. Our imports for the last fiscal year, ending July 1, 1912, amounted to $1,653,426,174 and our exports to $2,049,320,199, or a total of $3,857,648,262. If there were added to this the business done with Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines, the sum total of our foreign trade would considerably exceed $4,000,000,000. The excess of our exports over imports is $550,795,914. Manufactures exported during the year 1912 exceed $1,000,000,000 and surpass the previous record. These figures seem to show that the business is large enough to produce prosperity, and the fact is that it has done so."

WHERE IS THE "CHOKING AND SMOTHERING?"

Taft Right—Wilson Wrong.

That Taft is right and Wilson wrong the facts presented by the President and the statistics that establish the great prosperity of the country would seem to prove beyond question.

This should not surprise—as the issue is one between the president of a university, and the President of a vast republic—the doctrinaire against the man of affairs.

LOOK AT THESE FIGURES.

The table which follows, showing the increase in the wealth of the country in the last decade, was compiled from the Statistical Abstract of the United States, issued by the Bureau of Statistics at Washington; the bulletins of the U. S. Census Bureau; and the Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance, issued by the Bureau of Statistics at Washington for June, 1912.

Population	
Wealth	
Savings Banks' Deposits	
Postal Receipts	
*Capital invested in Manufacturing	
*Wages and Salaries paid in Manufacturing	
*Products of Manufacturing	
*Materials consumed in Manufacturing	
*Persons employed in Manufacturing	
Value of farm lands	
Value of farm buildings	
Value of farm implements and machinery	
Exports	
Farm value of corn produced	
" " " wheat produced	
" " " oats produced	
" " " cotton produced	
Value of cotton seed	
" " horses	
" " milch cows	
" " sheep	
" " hogs	
" " farm animals	
Total value on the farm of farm products	
Total production of coal in long tons	
Total production of pig iron in long tons	
Production of petroleum in gallons	

* 1899-1909.

If the "dam against which all our t
them up like this—don't demolish the

1900.	1910.
75,994.575	92,174,515
$88,517,306,775	$137,000,000,000
2,389,719,954	4,070,486,247
102,354,579	224,128,658
8,975,256,000	18,428,270,000
2,726,045,110	4,365,612,851
13,004,400,143	20,672,051,870
6,575,851,000	12,141,790,878
5,076,883	7,405,313
13,058,007,995	28,475,674,169
3,566,639,496	6,325,451,528
749,775,970	1,265,149,783
1,394,483,082	1,744,984,720
751,220,034	1,384,817,000
323,515,177	561,051,000
208,669,233	408,388,000
438,280,000	820,320,000
77,550,000	142,860,000
896,513,217	2,083,588,195
514,812,106	738,352,066
122,665,913	234,664,528
185,472,321	409,414,568
2,228,123,124	4,925,173,610
4,717,069,973	8,694,000,000
240,789,310	447,853,909
13,789,242	27,303,567
2,672,062,218	8,801,354,016

f prosperity have banked up"—banks

The "New York Evening Post," August 27, 1912, publishes columns of telegrams from business men in all parts of the country heralding prosperity.

TO CHECK PROSPERITY—ELECT WILSON.

From President Taft's Speech of Acceptance.

"If the result of the election were to put the Democrats completely in control of all branches of the Government, then we should look for the reduction of duties upon all those articles the manufacture of which need protection, and may anticipate a serious injury to a large part of our manufacturing industry. We would not have to wait for actual legislation on this subject; the very prospect of Democratic success when its policy toward our great protected industries became understood, would postpone indefinitely the coming of prosperity and tend to give us a recurrence of the hard times that we had in the decade between 1890 and 1897. The Democratic platform declares protection to be unconstitutional, although it has been the motive and purpose of most tariff bills since 1789, and

thus indicates as clearly as possible the intention to depart from a protective policy at once. It is true the Democratic platform says that the change to the policy of a revenue tariff is to be made in such a way as not to injure industry. This is utterly impossible when we are on a protective basis; and it is conclusively shown to be so by the necessary effect of bills already introduced and passed by the Democratic House for the purpose of making strides toward a revenue tariff. It is now more than 15 years since the people of this country have had an experience in such a change as that which the coming in of the Democratic Party would involve. It ought to be brought home to the people as clearly as possible that a change of economic policy, such as that which is deliberately proposed in the Democratic platform, would halt many of our manufacturing enterprises and throw many wage-earners out of employment, would injure much the home markets which the farmers now enjoy for their products, and produce a condition of suffering among the people that no reforming legislation could neutralize or mitigate.

ROOSEVELT THE CREATURE OF SOCIALISM.

The leading Socialist paper of New York says:

"The entrance of Roosevelt with a radical platform, involving practically everything popularly known as 'state socialism,' is too palpable to permit us to make any mistake about the outlook for the present campaign. There is absolutely no doubt that Theodore's platform will attract thousands, possibly hundreds of thousands, of voters whose ballots would have been cast for the socialist candidates had Theodore not entered the field in this manner.

"We shall drive Roosevelt and his kind ever further along the path to socialism; we shall force them to paint their "red herrings" ever more red. We have driven them thus far, and we shall never let up until we have driven them either clear into socialism or back into their original position of antagonism toward us without mask or disguise. For well we know that in their 'state socialism' there is no permanent abiding place. Forward and

ever forward they must go before the growing irresistible pressure of socialism.

"He has 'stolen our thunder.' So be it. We have lost nothing. but socialism has gained. It compels even its enemies to serve its purposes. While we work, we, too, can watch and wait, with that terrible patience which generations of capitalist exploitation has made second nature to us. If we can not immediately rend the capitalist system to pieces, we can force its champions to do the preliminary tearing and shredding of the rotten old system, and it is not altogether an unpleasant sight to behold. We are not exactly the same brand of 'political party' as the others. There's a difference. We can even forego votes to note the spectacle of the Bull Moose on the rampage in the capitalist china shop. Our business is the destruction of capitalism by any means and every means—any old way that the damnable system can be weakened for the final sweeping off the earth suits us."—Vorwarts.

The Verdict-"Incompetent"

The Democratic Party Has Shown Its Incapacity to Govern This State.

The Democratic State platform of 1910 charged the administration of Governor Hughes with "gross extravagance."

In his first annual message Governor Dix declared: "It is time for drastic reform and retrenchment. Every unnecessary avenue of expenditure should be closed. Every unnecessary special body should be abolished, and the work done by the constitutional officers of the State."

That was PROMISE—this is the record of PERFORMANCE.

There was no direct state tax during the administration of Governor Hughes.

The direct state tax in 1911 was more than six million dollars. This year the rate is one mill on every dollar of assessed valuation in the state. That valuation is upwards of ten billions, and the

state tax will be upwards of ten million dollars.

The total appropriations under Governor Hughes in 1909 and 1910, including all interest and fixed charges, were $79,567,021.37.

The total appropriations under Governor Dix in 1911 and 1912, including interest and fixed charges, were $95,440,676.24.

The appropriations for general expenses, exclusive of interest charges for 1909 and 1910, under Governor Hughes were $74,814,937.49.

The appropriations under Governor Dix in 1911 and 1912 for general expenses, exclusive of interest charges, were $84,643,663.57.

It has been urged as an excuse that the assembly for 1912 was Republican. But the Senate was Democratic, and every appropriation bill was approved by the Democratic governor, whose administration created the necessity and spent the money.

The non-partisan Highway Commis-

sion, established by Governor Hughes and a Republican legislature, was abolished when the Democrats secured full control in 1911, and a partisan Democratic commission was named in its stead.

The expenses of elections were increased by half a million dollars a year to the state, counties and towns.

A new Bureau of Conservation was established without result and with increased expenditure.

The useless office of Fire Marshal was created.

Inexperienced and incompetent men in new positions helped to make a longer pay-roll necessary in every department of state government.

RESULT. — Increased appropriations and new taxes, including the return to the direct state tax abolished by the Republicans in 1906.

As proof of this, glance at the following table, showing the increased expenditures in the various boards and departments of the state administration under Governor Dix as compared with the expendi-

tures of the last Republican administration of 1909 and 1910, which the Democratic platform declared to be "grossly extravagant": [See table, pages 22 and 23.]

Perhaps some few of these increases were unavoidable; and as to such increases the Republicans make no complaint.

As to the increased payrolls in every department of the State administration, however, the Republican party is justified in retorting the charge of "gross extravagance," and points to its own record, by contrast, as one of efficiency and economy.

The Republican party appeals to the people this fall to close the doors of the State Treasury to the democracy.

We are confident that the people will listen to that appeal if the Democratic record of the last two years is placed before them.

WILL YOU HELP US TO PLACE IT THERE?

Officer or Department.	Hughes—Total for 1909-1910.
Governor	$186,395.50
Secretary of State	586,624.06
Comptroller	620,160.13
Treasurer	63,720.00
Legislative	3,213,846.75
Judicial	3,307,160.10
Educational	16,747,217.04
Excise Department	837,599.59
Health Department	328,782.51
Labor Department	426,949.79
Elections	394,785.07
Public Service Commission	855,282.75
Health Officer, Port of N.Y.	302,930.00
Board of Tax Comm'rs	190,385.63
Weights and Measures	35,270.00
Agricultural	3,492,523.73
Curative	14,933,144.81
Charitable	6,498,424.39
Public Buildings Dept.	433,723.03
Public Buildings Const'ns.	210,224.72
Conservation	1,196,877.43
Purchase Mineral Lands	.....
Parks, Monuments, Etc.	287,007.04
Fire Marshal	.....
Public Works Department.	399,945.96
Highways Department	6,552,105.02
Banking Department	292,968.90
Insurance Department	661,591.13
Total General Expenses.	$74,814,937.49
Total Appropriations (including interest)	79,567,021.37

	Dix—Total for 1911-1912.	Increase.
.....	$196,553.90	$10,158.46
.....	762,638.30	176,014.24
.....	924,878.33	304,718.20
.....	77,034.63	13,314.63
.....	3,459,750.00	245,903.25
.....	3,526,785.31	219,625.21
.....	18,632,043.19	1,884,826.15
.....	900,464.61	62,865.02
.....	572,965.99	244,183.48
.....	706,504.37	279,554.58
.....	741,612.05	346,826.98
.....	969,537.32	114,254.57
.....	590,150.00	287,220.00
.....	271,930.11	81,544.37
.....	51,800.00	16,530.00
.....	4,635,381.55	1,142,857.82
.....	15,885,443.84	952,299.03
.....	7,114,348.59	615,924.20
.....	645,540.08	211,817.15
.....	2,265,050.00	2,054,825.28
.....	1,484,386.29	287,508.86
.....	225,000.00	225,000.00
.....	638,965.12	351,958.08
.....	186,520.00	186,520.00
.....	463,887.88	63,941.22
.....	7,668,066.83	1,115,961.81
.....	412,498.33	119,529.43
.....	870,130.00	208,538.87
.....	$84,643,663.57	$9,828,726.08
.....	95,440,676.24	15,873,654.87

THE TENNY PRESS
727 Seventh Ave.
New York.

The Republican Party
The Preservative Force.

If you have read the contents of this booklet, you will appreciate that there is something worth fighting for in this election, something that elevates politics and arouses patriotism.

The republican party has been the party of Union, Protection and Common Sense.

It is yet!

In the prsesent crisis it appeals with confidence to the intelligence and patriotism of the voters.

It appeals to you, personally, for your moral and financial support.

THE TRUTH

ABOUT

Those Delegates

ISSUED BY

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

TIMES BUILDING, NEW YORK CITY

The Washington Times, a daily newspaper owned by Frank Munsey, an ardent Roosevelt supporter, in its issue of June 9, 1912, contains the following statement showing the real foundation of most of the Roosevelt contests:

On the day when Roosevelt formally announced that he was a candidate something over a hundred delegates had actually been selected. When Senator Dixon took charge of the campaign a tabulated showing of delegates selected to date would have looked hopelessly one-sided. Moreover, a number of Southern States had called their conventions for early dates and there was no chance to develop the real Roosevelt strength in the great Northern States till later. For psychological effect as a move in practical politics it was necessary for the Roosevelt people to start contests on these early Taft selections in order that a tabulation of delegate strength could be put out that would show Roosevelt holding a good hand. In the game a table showing Taft 150, Roosevelt 19, contested one, would not be very much calculated to inspire confidence, whereas, one showing Taft 23, Roosevelt 19, contested 127, looked very different. That is the whole story of the larger number of Southern contests that were started early in the game. It was never expected that they would be taken very seriously. They served a useful purpose, and now the national committee is deciding them in favor of Taft in most cases without real division.

THE TRUTH
ABOUT
THOSE DELEGATES.

Here are the facts in relation to the contested seats in the Republican national convention. It is a summary of a detailed statement going carefully into all of the cases. This statement is signed by Mr. Victor Rosewater, chairman of the former Republican national committee; by Mr. T. H. Devine, of Colorado, chairman of the committee on credentials of the Republican national convention, and by Mr. Charles D. Hilles, chairman of the present Republican national committee.

The total number of delegates summoned to the Republican national convention of 1912 under its call was 1,078, with 540 necessary to a choice. Mr. Taft had 561 votes on the first and only ballot and was declared the nominee.

There were 252 delegates to the Republican national convention of 1912 whose seats were contested; 238 of these were Taft delegates whom Roosevelt people desired to unseat and 14 were Roosevelt delegates whom Taft people

sought to unseat. In accordance with the rules and long-established usage of the party, such contests are, in the first instance, heard by the Republican national committee, consisting of one member from each State and Territory. This committee decides which names shall go upon the temporary roll of the convention.

It must be borne in mind that the national committee which passed upon the contests of 1912 was the committee chosen in 1908 when Roosevelt was the leader of the party, at a time when his influence dominated the convention.

When a temporary organization of the convention has been effected, there is elected a committee on credentials, consisting of one member from each State and Territory, to which an appeal lies from the decision of the national committee, and from the decision of the committee on credentials a contest may be brought to the convention itself.

Among the delegates whose seats were contested were 74 delegates at large from the 14 States of Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Texas, Virginia, and Washington. The Missouri case was decided by the national committee unani-

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N. Y. Republ. Club
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mously in favor of the Roosevelt delegates, and no appeal was taken to the committee on credentials.

The Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, and Virginia cases were decided against Roosevelt contestants by practically unanimous votes of the national committee, and were not appealed to the committee on credentials.

In the Kentucky case there were a few votes in the national committee against the Taft delegates at large retaining their seats, but the majority in their favor was overwhelming, and no appeal was taken by the Roosevelt people to the committee on credentials.

In the Georgia case the Taft delegates sustained the right to their seats by a practically unanimous vote in the national committee, and in the committee on credentials the vote was entirely unanimous.

In the Indiana case the seats of the Taft delegates at large were confirmed by the unanimous vote of the national committee, the member from that State not voting. In the committee on credentials 13 votes only were cast in favor of seating the Roosevelt contestants.

In Mississippi the Taft delegates at large established the right to their seats by the unanimous vote of the national

committee, and also by the practically unanimous vote of the credentials committee.

There were only four States—Arizona, Michigan, Texas, and Washington, having in all 28 delegates, including six district delegates from the State of Washington—where the contests were at all worthy of the name, and in none of the 14 States did the contestants at large bring the matter to a record vote in the convention, and no roll call was demanded in any such case.

The seats of 178 district delegates were contested. In these congressional districts Taft contests were brought in the fourth California, the eleventh Kentucky, the fifth Missouri, and the third and fifteenth Texas districts, involving 10 seats. The Taft delegates from the fourth California district were given their seats, and one Taft delegate from the eleventh Kentucky district was seated. The other seven seats were decided in favor of the Roosevelt claimants.

In no other convention was so much care exercised or pains taken or so much time devoted to the careful investigation and fair determination of contests. No delegate was permitted to vote upon any contest affecting the right to his

own seat. In no other convention were there ever presented, manifestly for the deception of the public, so many wholly unwarranted and unjustified contests. There were filed contests against 238 Taft delegates, but in two cases only, involving four delegates—two from California and two from the ninth district of Alabama—was there a roll call demanded in the convention. In a very large number of cases the right of the Taft delegates was affirmed by unanimous consent of the convention, and in others by a *viva voce* vote, no roll call being demanded.

Fraudulent Roosevelt Contests.

In the four Southern States—Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida—where practically complete sets of Roosevelt contesting delegates were named, the alleged conventions which named them met from two to three months after the regular Republican organizations in those States had called their conventions and duly elected Taft delegates to the national convention. That these contests were based upon unworthy motives and were devised for the sole purpose of deceiving the public and making trouble for Taft, is apparent from the fact that the regularly elected Taft delegates in every case were seated by a

practically unanimous vote, the Roosevelt members of the committees joining with the Taft members in the votes. In Alabama, for example, the regular conventions were held in February and March, the State convention at Birmingham and the district conventions in their respective districts, while the Roosevelt conventions, both State and district, were all held in Birmingham, May 11. The regular conventions in Georgia were held generally in February or the early part of March. The Roosevelt conventions were all held May 17 or 18. The Taft conventions in Florida were all held February 6, while the Roosevelt conventions were all held May 18, more than three months later, except one, which met April 30. The regularly elected Taft delegates from Virginia at large were chosen in a State convention which met March 12. The Roosevelt delegates at large were named at a mass meeting, held without any party authority whatever on May 16. The other Roosevelt delegates from this State were chosen in every case substantially two months after the regular Taft delegates had been elected. It is needless to say that all these southern contests were financed by money which came from the North.

A careful review of the law and the evidence which was presented to the national committee and the committee on credentials will satisfy anyone who is desirous of knowing the truth, that these contests were decided strictly on their merits.

There were instituted against 238 of the delegates regularly elected for Taft, contests on behalf of Roosevelt. These contests were avowedly instigated not for the purpose of really securing seats in the convention, not for the purpose of adducing evidence which would lead any respectable court to entertain the contests, but for the purpose of deceiving the public into the belief that Mr. Roosevelt had more votes than he really had, while the conventions and primaries were in progress for the selection of delegates. This is not only a necessary inference from the character of the contests, but it was boldly avowed by the chief editor of the newspapers owned by Mr. Munsey, who has been Mr. Roosevelt's chief financial and newspaper supporter.

The two hundred and thirty-eight contests were reduced by abandonment, formal or in substance, to seventy-four. The very fact of these 164 frivolous contests itself reflects upon the genuineness

and validity of the remainder. The seventy-four delegates include six at large from Arizona, 4 at large from Kentucky, 4 at large from Indiana, 6 at large from Michigan, 8 at large from Texas, and 8 at large from Washington, and also two district delegates each from the 9th Alabama, the 5th Arkansas, the 13th Indiana, the 7th, 8th and 11th Kentucky, the 3rd Oklahoma, the 2nd Tennessee, and from each of nine districts, the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 14th of Texas.

Here, in brief, is the real story—and the facts—in the different cases:

CONTESTED DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

Arizona.

In the Arizona convention there were 93 votes. All the delegates—six in number—were to be selected at large. The counties were entitled to select their delegates through their county committee, or by primary. In one county, Maricopa, a majority of the committee decided to select its delegates, and a minority to have a primary. In other counties there were some contests, and the State committee, following the usage of the National Committee, gave a hearing to all contestants in order to make

up the temporary roll. There was a clear majority of the Taft delegates among the uncontested delegates. The committee made up the temporary roll, and then there was a bolt, 64 remaining in the hall, and 25 withdrawing therefrom. The case of the Taft majority was so clear that it is difficult to understand why a contest was made.

Indiana.

In Indiana the four Taft delegates at large were elected in a State convention to which Marion County, in which Indianapolis is situated, was entitled to 128 votes. A primary was held in Indianapolis, at which Taft polled 6,000, and Roosevelt 1,400 votes. This gave Taft 106 delegates in the State convention from Marion County, and if they were properly seated, the control of the convention by a large majority was conceded to Taft. Attempt was made to impeach the returns from Marion County by charges of fraud and repeating. These charges were of a general character, without specifications, except as to one ward, out of fifteen wards, and then the impeaching witness admitted he could not claim fraud enough to change the result in that ward. The National Committee, upon which there

were fifteen anti-Taft men, rejected the Roosevelt contestants and gave the Taft delegates their seats by a unanimous vote. Senator Borah and Mr. Frank B. Kellogg, both Roosevelt men, made speeches in explaining the votes in which they said that the case turned wholly on the Marion County primary, and as there was no evidence to impeach the result certified, the title of the Taft delegates was clear. This is the convention whose proceedings called forth such loud charges of theft and fraud from Mr. Roosevelt.

Kentucky.

In Kentucky a contest was filed against only three of the four delegates at large. The fourth Taft delegate's seat was uncontested. The three contestants admitted they were not elected by the convention which sent the Taft delegates, or by any other. They only contended that if the Roosevelt forces had had a majority, they would have been elected. There were 2,356 delegates summoned to the convention by its call. There were 449 of these whose seats were contested. If all of these had been conceded to Roosevelt, it would have made the Roosevelt vote 297 votes less than a majority. The appeal to

the committee on credentials from the decision of the National Committee was abandoned, as it ought to have been.

Michigan.

In Michigan the State convention had in it about 1,200 delegates. There were only two counties in dispute or contest. One was Wayne County, in which Detroit is situated, and the other was Calhoun County. The evidence left no doubt that the Taft men carried Wayne County by a very large majority, but it was immaterial whether this was true or not, because leaving out both Wayne County and Calhoun County, the only counties in contest, the Taft delegates outnumbered by several hundred the Roosevelt delegates, and they had a clear majority out of the total number of votes that should have been in the convention. The contest was so weak as to hardly merit recital.

Texas.

In Texas there were 249 counties, of which 4 have no county government. The 245 counties under the call of the convention were allowed to have something over 1,000 delegates representing them, who were given authority to cast 248 votes. Of the 245 counties, there were 99 counties in which the total Re-

publican vote was but 2,000, in 14 of which there were no Republican voters, in 27 of which there were less than ten each, and in none of which was there any Republican organization, and in none of which had a primary or convention been held. It was shown that Colonel Cecil Lyon, to whom had been assigned as referee the disposition of the patronage of the National Republican administration for ten years in the State, had been in the habit of controlling the Republican State Convention by securing from two Federal office-holders in each of these 99 counties a certificate granting a proxy to Colonel Lyon, or a friend of his, to represent the county, as if regularly conferred by a Republican county organization. The National Committee and the Committee on Credentials and the Convention, after the fullest investigation, decided that these 99 counties in which the Republican vote was so small, and in which there was no Republican party, no convention, no primary, no organization, was not the proper source for a proxy to give a vote equal to that to be cast by the other 146 counties in which there was a Republican organization, and in which primaries or conventions were held. The two committees therefore

held such ninety-nine proxies to be illegal and not the basis of proper representation. The two tribunals who heard the case decided that they should deduct the 99 votes from the total of 245 and give the representation to those who controlled the majority of the remainder. The remainder was 152 votes, and out of that the Taft men had carried 89 counties, having 90 votes. This gave to the Taft men a clear majority in the State convention, and with it 8 delegates at large.

WASHINGTON.

The contest in Washington turned on the question whether the Taft delegates appointed by the county committee in King County, in which Seattle is situated, were duly elected to the convention, or whether a primary, which was subsequently held, and at which Roosevelt delegates were elected, was properly called, so that its result was legal. Under the law, the county committee had the power to decide whether it would select the delegates directly or should call a primary. In some counties of the State, one course was pursued, and in other counties the other. In King County the committee consisted of 250 men, the majority of whom were for

Taft, and that majority, acting through its executive committee, selected the Taft delegates to the State convention. Meantime, the city council of Seattle had redistricted the city. It before had 250 precincts. Now, substantially, the same territory was divided up into 381 precincts. The chairman of the county committee was a Roosevelt man. He had been given authority by general resolution to fill vacancies occurring in the committee. A general meeting of the committee had been held after the city council had directed the redistricting of the city, in which it was resolved, the chairman not dissenting, that representatives could not be selected to fill the 331 new precincts until an election was held in September, 1912. Thereafter, and in spite of this conclusion, the chairman assumed the right by his appointment to add to the existing committee 131 precinct committeemen, and with these voting in the committee, it is claimed that a primary was ordered. There was so much confusion in the meeting that this is doubtful. However, the fact is that the Taft men protested against any action by a committee so constituted, on the ground that the chairman had no authority to appoint the 131 new committeemen. They refused to take part in the

primary, and so did the La Follette men. The newspapers reported the number of votes in the primary to be something over 3,000. The Roosevelt committee showed by affidavit the number to be 6,000 out of a usual total Republican vote of 75,000. The action of the chairman of the committee in attempting to add 131 precinct men to the old committee was of course beyond his power. The resolution authorizing him to fill vacancies of course applied only to those places in the existing committee which became vacant after they had been filled, and clearly did not apply to 131 new precincts. It could not in the nature of things apply to a change from the old system to a complete new system of precincts created by the city council, because if they were to be filled the entire number of 331 new precincts different from the old must be filled. One system could not be made into the other by a mere additional appointment of 131 committeemen. No lawyer will say that such action by the committee thus constituted was legal. Therefore the action which the lawful committee of 250 took in electing Taft delegates who made a majority in the State convention was the only one which could be recognized as valid.

CONTESTED DISTRICT DELEGATES.

ALABAMA.

Ninth District.

The 9th Alabama contest turned on the question whether the chairman of a district committee had power to fill vacancies, whether a committeeman who had sent his resignation to take effect only in case he was not present, being present, should be prevented from acting as committeeman, and, third, on the identity of another committeeman. The written resolution under which the right of the chairman to appoint to vacancies was claimed showed on its face that the specific authority was written in in different handwriting and with different colored pencil between the lines. A number of affidavits were filed by committeemen who were present when the resolution was passed, to show that the resolution contained no such authority. This gave rise to a question of fact upon which a very large majority of both the National Committee and the Committee on Credentials held that the lead pencil insertion was a forgery, that the chairman did not have the authority thereunder to appoint to the vacancies and therefore the action of his committee

was not valid. This made it necessary to reject the contestants. The committee decided the two other issues of fact before them in favor of the Taft contention, although the first decision was conclusive.

ARKANSAS.

Fifth District.

In the 5th Arkansas the question was one of the identity of one faction or the other as the Republican party. This convention followed the example of the convention of 1908 in holding that what was known as the Redding faction was not the Republican party, that it was a defunct organization, and had only acquired life at the end of each four years for the purpose of using it in the National Convention. The contestants were therefore rejected. It was shown that the other or Taft had been in active existence, as the Republican party, had nominated a local ticket and had run a candidate for Congress.

CALIFORNIA.

Fourth District.

The 4th California presented this question: Under the State law, the delegation, two from each district, was elected on a general ticket, in a group of 26.

Each delegate might either express his presidential preference or agree to vote for the presidential candidate receiving the highest number of votes in the State. In the 4th district the two candidates from that district on the Taft ticket expressed a preference for Taft, but did not agree to vote for the candidates having the highest State vote. These Taft delegates in the 4th district received a majority of 200 more than the Roosevelt delegates in that district. The official call for the Republican National Convention, in precisely the language used in the call for the 1908 and many previous conventions, forbade any law or the acceptance of any law which prevented the election of delegates by congressional districts. In other words, the State law was at variance with the call for the National Convention. The State law was invoked to enforce the State unit rule requiring the whole 26 delegates to be voted for all over the State, assigning two to each district on the tickets to abide the State-wide election, while the Republican National Convention has insisted upon the unit of the district since 1880. That has been the party law. This convention recognized the party law and held it to be more binding than that of the State law, and

allowed the two delegates who had received in the 4th district a vote larger than their two opponents assigned to that district, to become delegates in the convention. This was clearly lawful, for a State has no power to limit or control the basis of representation of a voluntary national party in a National Convention. The fact that President Taft by telegram approved all of the twenty-six delegates as representing him is said to be an estoppel against his claiming the election of two of those delegates in the fourth district. What is there inconsistent in his approving the candidacy of all his delegates and the election of two of them? Why should he be thus estopped to claim that part of the law was inoperative because in conflict with the call for the convention?

INDIANA.

Thirteenth District.

In the 13th Indiana there was no question about the victory of the Taft men, because the temporary chairman representing the Taft side was conceded to have been elected by one-half a vote more than the Roosevelt candidate. This one-half vote extended through the riotous proceedings, and although it was not as wide as a barn door, it was

enough. The chairman put the question as to electing the Taft delegates, and after continuous objection, lasting three hours, declared the vote carried. The Roosevelt men thus prevented a roll call and then bolted.

KENTUCKY.

Seventh District.

In the 7th Kentucky district the total vote of the convention was 145. There were contests from 4 counties involving 95 votes. According to the rules of the party in Kentucky, where two sets of credentials are presented, those delegates whose credentials are approved by the county chairman are entitled to participate in the temporary organization. On the temporary roll the Taft chairman was elected by 98 votes and 47 votes were cast for the Roosevelt candidate. The committee on credentials was then appointed, consisting of one member named by each county delegation. The majority report of the committee was adopted unanimously by the convention, no delegation whose seats were contested being permitted to vote on its own case. As soon as the majority report of the credentials committee had been adopted, the Roosevelt adherents bolted. There was not the

slightest reason for sustaining the contest for Roosevelt delegates.

KENTUCKY.

Eighth District.

The 8th Kentucky district was composed of 10 counties, having 163 votes, of which 82 were necessary to a choice. There was no contest in five of the counties, and although the Roosevelt men claimed that there was one in Spencer County, no contest was presented against the seating of the regularly elected Taft delegates from that county. This gave the Taft delegates 84 votes, or 2 more than were necessary for a choice. In other words, assuming that the Roosevelt men were entitled to all the delegates from the counties in which they filed contests in the district convention, there remained a clear majority of uncontested delegates who voted for the Taft delegates to Chicago.

OKLAHOMA.

Third District.

In the 3rd Oklahoma district the question of the validity of the seats of the delegates turned on the constitution of the congressional committee, which was made up of 12 Taft men and 7 Roose-

velt men. The chairman, Cochran, was a Roosevelt man, and attempted to prevent the majority of the committee from taking action. The chairman was removed, and another substituted, and thereupon the convention was duly called to order on the temporary roll prepared by the congressional committee, which was made the permanent roll, and the two Taft delegates to Chicago were duly selected. Every county in the district had its representation and vote in the regular convention, and no person properly accredited as a delegate was excluded or debarred from participating in its proceedings. Cochran and his followers bolted after his deposition. Assuming that all the committee who went out with him had the right to act on the committee, it left the committee standing 12 for Taft and 7 for Roosevelt, so it was simply a question whether a majority of the committee had the right to control its action or a minority. The bolting convention which Cochran held was not attended by a majority of the duly elected delegates to the convention. It did not have the credentials from the various counties, and its membership was largely made up of bystanders who had not been duly accredited by any county in the district.

Its action was entirely without authority.

TENNESSEE.

Second District.

In the 2nd Tennessee district there were 59 delegates uncontested out of a possible total of 108 in the convention. There were 49 contested. The Roosevelt contestants in the 49 refused to abide by the decision of the committee on credentials, and withdrew, leaving 59 uncontested delegates. These 59 delegates, part of whom were Roosevelt men, remained in the convention, appointed the proper committee, settled contests, and proceeded to select Taft delegates. There can be no question therefore about the validity of their title.

TEXAS.

First District.

The only remaining districts are the nine districts from Texas. Of these, the first district was composed of 11 counties, each county having one vote, except Cass County, which had two. The executive committee, composed of one representative from each county, made up the temporary roll, and in the contests filed from two counties, seated both delegates with one-half vote each.

The convention elected the two Taft delegates, giving them 10¼ votes. Each county was represented in this vote. A minority representing 1¾ votes bolted the regular convention, and held a rump meeting. The National Committee *by unanimous vote* decided the contest in favor of the Taft delegates.

Second District.

In the 2nd Texas district there were 14 counties. Two counties were found not to have held conventions, and one county to have no delegate present. The convention was then constituted by the delegations that held regular credentials. The report of the committee on credentials was accepted upon roll call and then the representatives of five counties withdrew from the hall. The representatives of four of these counties held a rump convention. The regular convention remained in session several hours, appointed the usual committees, which retired and made their reports, which were accepted, and elected two Taft delegates to the National Convention, and certified their election in due form to the National Committee, which without division being asked for, held them properly elected.

Fourth District.

The 4th Texas district consists of five counties, each having one vote in the district convention under the call. One county, Rains, chose an uncontested delegation, and that one was for Taft. The other four counties sent contesting delegations. The contesting delegations appeared before the congressional executive committee to present their claims, but the committee arbitrarily refused to hear anybody. Having exhausted every effort to secure a hearing the four contesting delegations, together with the only uncontested delegation of the convention, withdrew to another place and held a convention and elected Taft delegates to the Chicago convention. The congressional convention which elected the Taft delegates was composed of more than a majority, and, indeed, of practically all the regularly elected delegates. The National Committee held the title of the Taft delegates to their seats valid by *viva voce* vote without calling for a division.

Fifth District.

The 5th district of Texas is composed of Dallas, Ellis, Hill, Bosque and Rockwall Counties. Dallas County cast more Republican votes than all the other

counties of the district put together. The call for the Congressional convention allowed each county to send not to exceed four delegates, but made no reference to the basis of representation of the respective counties composing the district. There was a contest from Dallas County, but the Taft delegates were seated. Taft delegates were seated on the temporary roll from two counties, and Roosevelt delegates from the three counties, and the representation in the convention was fixed at one vote for each county, without regard to the number of delegates in the convention or the number of Republican votes cast in such county. A minority report of the district committee was presented, protesting against the ratio of representation adopted. The chairman of the convention objected to the presentation of this minority report. Failing in this he abandoned the platform and left the hall.

The convention thereupon elected a new chairman and a new secretary, appointed a committee on credentials, which recommended the seating of the Taft delegates from Hill County, and the adoption of the minority report of the district committee as to the basis of the representation in the convention.

Both these recommendations were adopted, and Taft delegates to the national convention were thereupon elected by a vote of eight to three. The Roosevelt men thereafter retired to the south end of the hall, where they organized a meeting, at which it was claimed the Roosevelt delegates to the national convention were elected. The Republican vote for the district for 1908 was as follows: Dallas County, 2,068; Ellis, 594; Hill, 414; Bosque, 266; Rockwall, 38. Both the National Committee and the committee on credentials sustained the Taft delegates.

Seventh District.

The 7th Congressional district of Texas is composed of the following counties: Anderson, Chambers, Galveston, Houston, Liberty, Polk, San Jacinto and Trinity. Polk, San Jacinto and Trinity were without proper party organization. In Texas, county chairmen must be elected by the voters in each party. No such election was held in any of these three counties. In two of them Colonel Lyon assumed to appoint chairmen, which he had no right to do. Lyon himself had classed these three counties as unorganized and without party organization.

The convention met in Galveston. The executive committee met prior to the meeting of the convention to make up the temporary roll of delegates. The executive committee had before it the question of having the three unorganized counties represented in the convention. The executive committee refused to recognize them. When this action was taken by the executive committee, a delegate from Houston County, and the alleged representatives from the three unorganized counties withdrew from the meeting and proceeded to organize another convention, and upon this is based the contest, which was rejected by both committees, the National Committee and the credentials committee.

Eighth District.

In the 8th Congressional convention a split occurred over the majority and minority reports of the executive committee as to the temporary roll. The Roosevelt followers controlled the executive committee, but did not have a majority in the convention which adopted the minority report and gave Taft 5½ votes and Roosevelt 2½ votes. This resulted in the election of the Taft delegates, who were seated by both the National Committee and the credentials committee.

Ninth District.

In the 9th district the district committee was called by Mr. Speaker, a member of the committee, and not by the chairman. The chairman refused to convene the committee because he claimed that all the delegates from Texas to the National Convention must be elected in the State convention, that Colonel Lyon his superior had thus directed him. The district committee was called. Seven members attended the meeting. The district convention was called on the 15th of May. Eleven counties out of the 15 responded to the call and took part in the convention which elected Taft delegates. Three counties were not represented, and in one of these there was no election. After this convention had been called the chairman of the district committee changed his mind and called a meeting of the committee for April 17th. This committee called a Congressional convention to be held on the 18th of May. But there was no publication of the call, which had to be thirty days before the convention, until April 21st. The Taft convention seems therefore to have been duly and regularly convened, while the Roosevelt convention was not. The Taft delegates were seated.

Tenth District.

In the 10th district the decision turned largely upon the bad faith with which two members of the district committee voted in the seating of delegates and upon the bad faith with which one of them used the proxy intrusted to him. The Taft delegates in this case bolted and left the hall and immediately in the same building organized another convention, which consisted of delegates from six counties. Proceedings were regularly held, a permanent organization effected, the report of the committee on resolutions adopted, and delegates pledged to Taft were elected. The undisputed evidence indicated that a flagrant attempt had been made to deprive Taft of this district, to which he was justly entitled. The National Committee sustained the title of the Taft delegates and alternates by a practically unanimous vote.

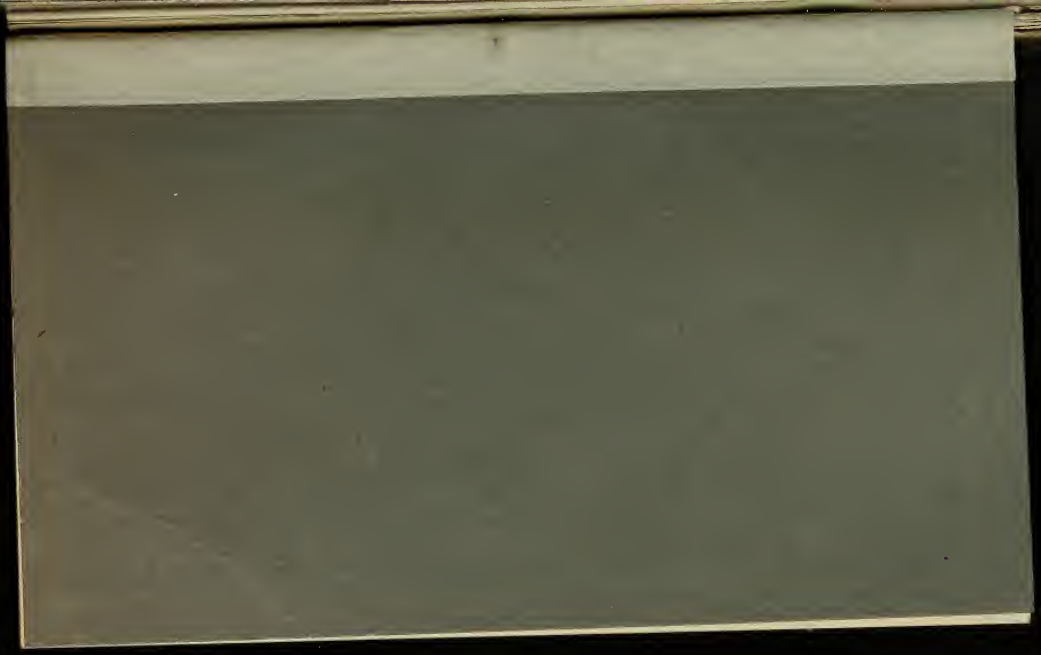
Fourteenth District.

In the 14th district there were 15 counties in the district. When the executive committee met at San Antonio to make up the temporary roll, there were 10 members of the committee present whose right to act was undisputed, of whom 6 were for Taft and 4

for Roosevelt. There were 4 other Roosevelt men present whose right to vote was disputed and who were clearly not entitled to represent their county at that meeting. One of them held the proxy of the committeeman from Kendall county, who was dead, and the proxies from three other counties were held, two by postmasters and one by an assistant postmaster, while under the election law of Texas no one who holds an office of profit or trust under the United States shall act as a member of an executive committee either for the State or for any district or county. The temporary roll was made up by Taft members, having a clear majority, without permitting these men to act under their proxies. There was a contest over the delegation from Bexar County, which contains the city of San Antonio. Full consideration was given to this contest, but the testimony was overwhelming that Taft carried the county by a vote of four or five to one. On the proper basis the total vote in the district convention was 67, of which the number instructed or voting for Taft was 37½; the number voting or instructed for Roosevelt 28½; not voting 1. The Taft delegation was therefore seated at Chicago.

CONCLUSION

This is the summary of the contests in which there was any shadow of substance. It is not essential in order to make Mr. Taft's title indisputable that all men agree on every one of the issues raised. They were decided by the tribunals which uniform party usage had made the proper tribunals to decide such contests. If those tribunals acted in good faith, a mistaken judgment would not invalidate their decisions. As a matter of fact, an examination of the facts shows that the tribunals were right in every instance. There is not the slightest evidence that they were moved by other than an honest desire to reach a right conclusion. On the other hand, the action of the Roosevelt men in bringing 160 contests that they promptly abandoned, strongly tended to show their lack of good faith in the prosecution of all of them. Those who support President Taft can well afford to stand on the record in these cases, and to asseverate without fear of successful contradiction that the Taft delegates whose seats were contested were as fairly seated in this convention as in any in the history of the party.



STATE OF NEW YORK.

PLATFORM ADOPTED

BY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

in Convention at Rochester.

April 9—10, 1912.

Would You Call This Platform "Bourbon and Reactionary?"

V-3 6

Platform of the Republican Party of the State of New York, Adopted at Rochester, April 10, 1912.

The Republican Party of New York, in state convention assembled, hereby declares its faith in those fundamental principles of government established in the United States by the adoption of the Constitution.

We believe that this is a self-controlled representative democracy as illustrated by the entire course of our national experience.

We believe that order is the prerequisite of progress, and that this national tradition must not be destroyed nor principle be sacrificed to opportunism.

We believe that the guarantees of the Bill of Rights, as incorporated in the Constitution of the United States for the protection of each citizen, even if threatened by a temporary majority, shall be forever preserved.

We believe that public conscience should express itself properly and affirmatively *in the election* of public officials and not negatively *in their recall.* To reverse this order would encourage disregard of duty in electing public officers and place a premium on neglect of that duty. The fundamental consideration is that public servants shall be soberly elected rather than carelessly elected and then cashiered.

The new and constantly changing conditions incident to the industrial development of the last half century are insistently demanding readjustment through legislation. We urge legislation to give better protection to life and health and to safeguard those who are engaged in dangerous occupations. And we further advocate a workman's compensation act which in large business organizations shall establish as far as possible the principle of insurance against injury to employees.

We believe in adequate laws to prevent monopoly in trade. We favor the retention of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. But it should be supplemented by further legislation to give the same certainty to the law controlling combinations and monopolies that characterize other provisions of our commercial law to the end that the field of business opportunity shall not be restricted by monopoly or combination, that business success honestly achieved may not be converted into crimes, and that the right of all men to acquire commodity and particularly the necessities of life in an open market, uninfluenced by the manipulation of trust or combination, may be preserved.

There should be provision for an administrative board for the bet-

Gift
N. Y. Republ. State
Committee

ter enforcement of the law against monopoly. There should be further legislation to define as criminal offences specific acts which mark attempts to restrain and monopolize trade so that those who honestly intend to obey the law may have a guide for action and those who violate the law may more surely be punished.

We believe in the Republican principle of protection to American workingmen, American industries, and the American farmer. Customs duties should be adjusted so as to cover the difference between the cost of producton in this and in other countries, and such adjustments should be made by Congress upon facts ascertained by an impartial board with authority to make a thorough investigation. We condemn the action of the Democratic Party in the House of Representatives who long professed to favor a tariff commission to ascertain the facts upon which customs might be based and who immediately after obtaining power repudiated their former professions and proceeded to pass tariff bills without regard to the facts reported and without inquiring into or caring for the needs of American business or American labor.

We believe in the amendment of the National Banking Law and the creation of a national reserve association, together with provision for an elastic system of currency and credit properly safeguarded and free from domination of any sectional or special financial influence.

We believe in the peaceful settlement of all international disputes and the reference of all justiciable controversies to an international court of justice.

We oppose as subversive of our form of government the initiative, the compulsory legislative referendum and the recall, either of public servants or judicial decisions, or any device which impairs consistency and continuity in the expression of popular will.

We oppose the recall of judges or any system which will introduce cowardice as an element in the administration of justice. The authority of the judiciary should not be impaired. Respect for the courts once broken down, the constitutional protection of the liberties of the individual would be destroyed.

We urge the delegates at large from New York and the delegates from the Congressional districts to contend at the Republican National Convention for the adoption of the principles herein endorsed and the repudiation of the doctrines herein opposed.

We applaud the patriotism, wisdom and undramatic courage of President William H. Taft. The overwhelming majority of the representatives of the party in this convention assembled favor his renomination, and we urge that the delegates at large here elected in their action at Chicago carry out this choice of the Republicans of the State and that the district delegates unite to the same end.

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THE TENNY PRESS
727 Seventh Avenue
New York

Mr. Roosevelt Attacks

THE

Rochester Platform

AND

Mr. Barnes' Reply

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL NEW YORK CITY 158
THE TENNY PRESS
727 Seventh Avenue
New York

Colonel Roosevelt's Statement.

Monday, June 3, Colonel Roosevelt handed to the press a statement which reads:

"In the past, Mr. Root has rendered distinguished service as Secretary of State and Secretary of War. But in this contest Mr. Root ranged himself against the men who stand for progressive principles within the Republican party; that is, against the men who stand for making the Republican party in relation to the issues of the present day what it was in the days of Abraham Lincoln. He stands as the representative of the men and the policies of reaction. He is put forward by the bosses and the representatives of special privileges."

Mr. Roosevelt then quotes in full the telegram sent by Mr. Barnes to all delegates asking them to support Senator Root.

"This telegram makes the issue perfectly clear," he continues. **"It is one of principles, not persons. Mr. Barnes demands Mr. Root's selection as the sign of repudiation of the principles for which I stand and as an indorsement of the doctrines enunciated at the Rochester Convention—doctrines not merely reactionary but of such a character that no party professing them could carry a single State in this Union. These doctrines are so Bourbon and reactionary that in every open primary in every Northern State since the Rochester convention was held, after full discussion, the people have overwhelmingly repudiated them."**

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N. Y. Repub. State
Comm

Mr. Barnes' Reply.

Defines and Analyzes the Rochester Platform.

"If the Republican party at Chicago in its convention desires to follow Mr. Roosevelt's advice and declare that the bill of rights of the Constitution, endorsed by the Rochester convention are 'Bourbon and reactionary,' then the Republican party no longer exists as a force for the preservation of the rights of each individual citizen in America, but has become a plaything of a demented ambition."

Republican State Chairman William Barnes, Jr., made the above scathing statement in answer to Col. Theodore Roosevelt's attack on him and Senator Elihu Root as reactionary representatives. Alluding to the opponent of President Taft as a Socialist, the State Chairman says the Colonel intends to subvert the National Government for individual ends, and with personifying the most dangerous influence in politics to-day.

Chairman Barnes' statement is as follows:

"Mr. Roosevelt is now absolutely in the open by his declaration that the principles, as he puts it, 'enacted' at the Rochester Convention are not 'merely revolutionary but Bourbon and reactionary.' What are those principles? They are these:

"We believe that this, a self-controlled representative democracy as illustrated by the entire course of our national experience.

"We believe that order is the prerequisite of progress, and that this national tradition must not be destroyed nor principle sacrificed to opportunism.

"We believe that the guarantee of the Bill of Rights, as incorporated in the Constitution of the United States for the protection of each citizen, even if threatened by a temporary majority, shall be forever preserved.

"These principles form the foundation upon which this government has rested since its establishment and to which every citizen except a Socialist, will subscribe.

"Mr. Roosevelt calls it 'Bourbon and reactionary' to affirm, 'that this is a self-controlled, representative democracy.'

"He says it is 'Bourbon and reactionary' to declare 'that order is the prerequisite of progress.' He says it is 'Bourbon and reactionary' to declare 'that principles should not be sacrificed to opportunities.' He need not have redeclared that; that is illustrated by our experience with him. He declares that it is 'Bourbon and reactionary' for the Rochester convention 'to reaffirm its belief in the guarantees of the Bill of Rights.'

"What is that Bill of Rights? It is contained in the first ten amendments to the Constitution and the fourteenth amendment. They declare that Congress shall have no power to pass a law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the

free exercise of it; or bridging the freedom of speech or of the press; of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

"They say that no soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner.

"They say that the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, paper and effects, against unreasonable search and seizures, shall not be violated.

"They say that no person shall twice be put in jeopardy for the same offense; that no person shall be compelled to be a witness against himself nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law.

"They say that private property cannot be used for public use without just compensation.

"They say that in all criminal prosecutions the accused must be confronted with the witnesses against him.

"They say that excessive bail shall not be required nor excessive fines imposed nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

"They say that no State shall have the power to deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

"These are the principles reaffirmed by the Rochester Convention never before attacked by a public man in the history of this nation, but now by Mr. Roosevelt declared to be 'Bourbon and reactionary.' Mr. Roosevelt very properly says that this is a question not of men but of principles. If the Republican party at Chicago, in its convention, desires to follow Mr. Roosevelt's advice and declares that the Bill of Rights of the Constitution, endorsed by the Rochester Convention, are 'Bourbon and reactionary,' then the Republican party no longer exists as a force for the preservation of the rights of each individual citizen in America, but has become the plaything of a demented ambition, which would use the organism of that party, as he now openly avows to destroy those principles established by the adoption of the Constitution and reaffirmed by the action of the Rochester Convention.

"Mr. Roosevelt is a clever politician and usually has been able to conceal his sub-conscious mind, but in the statement which he issued yesterday he clearly betrayed that his ultimate purpose is the subversion of our government. That has been clear to me for years through an intimate knowledge and study of his basic character. It chafes at all restrictions, and, under the stress of this conflict has openly betrayed its secret recesses wherein are nurtured passionate ambitions to use apparent popular favor for the destruction of the Constitution, an impediment to the realization of those ambitions.

"His candidacy represents, as he himself has now declared, simply an attack on the Constitution of the United States, the sweeping away of its safeguards of individual liberty, and the establishment in its stead a despotism, which, for his purposes, he is now pleased to call 'the rule of the people.'"

OUR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES MUST BE PRESERVED

SPEECH OF WILLIAM BARNES, JR.

AT THE

REPUBLICAN CLUB, NEW YORK

May 16, 1912

At the Republican State Convention
Held at Rochester, N. Y.
April 9—10, 1912

OUR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES MUST BE PRESERVED

SPEECH OF WILLIAM BARNES, JR.

AT THE

REPUBLICAN CLUB, NEW YORK

May 16, 1912

MR. BARNES DESCRIBES FALSE REASONING IN POLITICS.

His fellow members of the Republican Club tendered to Wm. Barnes, Jr., Chairman of the Republican State Committee, a dinner at the club house on the evening of May 16, 1912, which was marked by enthusiasm.

Former Congressman J. Van Vechten Olcott, president of the club, who acted as toastmaster, introduced Mr. Barnes as a philosophical politician or a political philosopher. Mr. Barnes spoke as follows:

"This tender of confidence on the part of the membership of this club and guests I must regard as an indication that during my incumbency of the office of chairman of the State Committee we have made it clear to the people of this State and of the nation that the Republican party of New York is an organism imbued with the same spirit and devoted to the same purposes which have given the Republican party its reason for existence and

moulded its character.

"Clarity of mind is not only the greatest joy in living, but the greatest achievement of endeavor. It is not, however, a fixed point, but a progress, and that mind which does not emerge from the network of cobwebs which each day is woven across its vision by the spiders of conventional intercourse into the realm of clear thinking can never hope to possess really the joy of living. The possession of a mind, therefore, free from error and at the same time capable of concrete external accomplishment, not mere contemplation, is the ideal of existence. Admit this, and all men must admit it unless steeped in error, we come to the natural sequence of thought that he who weaves cobwebs in the brains of others commits the greatest indignity upon them which can be conceived. It is the primal wickedness of the demagogue, that he seduces the mind of his listeners with vain hope, sense of outrage, grievance, malice, or flattery, that he prates that his opponents put the dollar above the man, an appeal which must fall on deaf ears, except in the case of those who do put the dollar above the man, because no man can put the dollar above himself except himself.

"He who with clarity of mind, evenness of life, a thorough respect for others, which can only come from respect for self, goes on about his business,

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must be indifferent to his importance in the unimportant world of external relation. It is better to be a good cobbler than a bad governor. The test is in the achievement, not in the occupation. Failure consists in thinking oneself into a picture painted of himself by others or of his conception of what others might paint. I once knew a man who was elected sheriff in one of the up-state counties. The day following his election he appeared on the main street of his city in a silk hat. That was the end. As of an individual, so of a party. It should keep its mind straight and its vision unimpaired. It should resist with all its will any attempt to becloud its mind and make it a prey to error.

TREACHERY OF AND TO THE HUMAN MIND.

"No organ is more treacherous than the human mind. Like all things in life, its capacity for elevation springs from the same genesis as its capacity for depravity. The higher it is able to reach, the lower has it the capacity to descend. Many a time have I said to political friends: "That thing is wrong," and the answer has invariably been, "Well, it's bound to happen." It is bound to happen, just so long as men permit their minds to be treacherous to them. It will not happen if rule upon rule and precept upon precept, those who have the oppor-

tunity to get a public hearing, ram home the truths of right thinking instead of lazily believing that right thinking by the electorate is impossible. The public man or the newspaper or the individual citizen who at any time in his public utterances or in his writings or in his intercourse with others, strikes a false note or makes an appeal not true to his own mind is the greatest enemy of mankind who walks the earth. He appeals to that crudity in the human mind which locates blame for its own condition or its own act upon others. The disappearance of that crudity is evidence of mature life. As one grows in mental stature he learns by experience that he must lay blame, if any should be laid at all, at his own door, and at no one's else. When he has learned to do that he has grown into the real capacity of the human sovereign, but that growth is retarded by the teachings of that school of politicians, the first exploiter of which in America was Aaron Burr, and whose loud followers are with us to-day, which tells him that every ill, real or fancied, that is his, is caused by somebody else.

"There is another method which has appealed to a great audience for nearly 2,000 years. Its sponsor said: "And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but perceivest not the beam that is in thine own eye."

"Every citizen who expects to pass upon the as-

pirations of candidates for popular favor should secure a copy of the "Federalist" and refurnish his mind with the basic reasons why our form of government is what it is, or if he never knew, to take on the study before he sits in judgment.

TWO FALLACIES OF THE HOUR.

"I will mention but two fallacies of the hour—first, the direct nominations idea, which had its birth in the confusion between membership in a political association or party and citizenship. A primary is not an election. The primary was an evolution, the forerunner of the convention, which was likewise an evolution made necessary in order that those who, associated together for the accomplishment of specific purposes, might have a place where personal differences could be settled and candidates chosen to be the bearers of the standard.

"It is absurd to have preferential presidential primaries and then hold a convention. The direct nomination of candidates for office with a party label is illogical because such candidates do not emanate as the result of conciliation, consultation and grouping of those holding similar ideas, but stand upon their own personal platform. Such nominees should appeal to the electorate as independents. The various candidates who have contended before the electorate of their respective

parties at the primaries recently held should have made their appeal in November. The logical sequence of the establishment of the direct nominations idea is the abolition of the official primary all together. The exigencies of this abnormal situation have compelled the President of the United States for the preservation of his party to make a personal campaign in order to undo the damage caused by a reckless opponent.

"It must be conceded that the working out of this so-called reform has done more to confuse and corrupt electors than anything in politics for fifty years, a condition which was clearly pointed out by those who have maintained a consistent course in opposition to this innovation. Others may be able to explain what benefits have accrued from this half-thought-out idea. I fail to see any unless the increase in the circulation of money is looked upon as a public benefit.

THE GENESIS AND IMPORTANCE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

"In the craze to eliminate a few not really important individuals from political life the agitators have shaken the very foundation stones of our institutions. It is the old story of burning the house to kill the rats. The house is burned and the rats run away.

"The second delusion is the agitation for amending the constitution by providing for what is called the popular election of United States senators. Has it not occurred to all of you that there is no necessity for two houses of Congress popularly chosen? The reason why the Senate or second body was created was that its membership should have a different genesis than the membership of the House of Representatives. Every argument for the election of United States Senators by popular vote is an argument for the abolition of the Senate, because the very existence of the Senate implies that it shall not be popular and shall not express the temporary will. In other words, this check was established that an idea must prove its worth through a long period of discussion before it can take legislative form.

INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY ASSAILED AS NEVER BEFORE.

"Individual liberty is now assailed in this country with a vehemence never before witnessed. The development of the socialistic or the community idea has grown apace and ignorance has so beclouded the minds of many that they refuse to think longer of themselves as persons, but only in membership—as of a club, a labor union, a party, or some other purely artificial thing. We are or-

ganized into mental atrophy and are becoming automatons. I do not argue that we should not organize, but that our membership in any organization represents only one aspect of our external life and can be cut off at any moment and should be cut off the moment it becomes a restriction, not a use. But restriction has an eminent place in government because such restriction is a necessity for the purpose of maintaining indestructible individual liberty and external opportunity. We should not confuse, however, the function of government with the life and mind of the individual which government was established to protect, not to destroy. Neither should the individual clothed with governmental power misinterpret his function by assuming that he, in his official capacity, possesses the rights of the individual when he has been selected to be a servant. Some clever person realizing the popularity of the passion for self-destruction has capitalized it to his own profit in the song 'Everybody's Doing It,' and another, actuated by the same instinct has recently written a magazine article to tell the world of his discovery that the composite mind is the greatest thing on earth.

DEVELOPMENT OF A COUNTRY DEPENDS UPON THE INDIVIDUALS IN IT.

"All must admit that development and growth

must be the object of the life of the nation. How can that be achieved except by the development and the growth of the individual? It is said, however, that this country has grown so big and industrial and other organizations have become so necessary that individualism must disappear, which argument is proof against itself, because it is an admission that the greater the crowd the greater the ignorance. And this knocks out the doctrine of the glory of the composite mind. No, there is only one kind of development for a country, and that is the development of the individuals in it.

"The day has come, strange as it may seem, when it is necessary to contend in behalf of the American constitution, and especially that portion of it which establishes as a cardinal principle the benefits which man is entitled to possess—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

"James Russell Lowell, writing just before the war in his poem, 'The Present Crisis,' said that new occasions teach new duties. He would be blind indeed who should attempt 'to unlock the future's portal with the past's blood-rusted key,' but new occasions do not change the inherent quality of human nature, nor require that a future portal be opened with a crowbar. A new key may be needed, but it must always be a key, not a battering ram.

THE CRAZE FOR SOMETHING NEW AND THE CONSEQUENCES.

"In the craze for something new the mind of unrest discards as useless everything that is old, neglectful of the truth that whatever is old has come through experience and withstood that hardest of tests. The joy of imagination is the beauty of living. It should be cherished as such, but it is not a function of government. The wisest provision of the American constitution was the self-restraint imposed upon the electorate, by itself.

"That self-restriction is now the real object of attack from those whose minds which are so intemperate politically that their advocacy of the abolition of these restrictions is proof of the wisdom of their retention. It is not important what concrete form their mental attitude takes, whether it is in the recall of judges, recall of judicial decisions, initiative, compulsory legislative referendum, direct nominations or anything else. It is the state of mind which advocates these concrete things that requires treatment. That state of mind believes in rushing to the Legislature for the enactment of statutes to cure evils which can never be remedied by legislative enactment. In its failure to succeed through legislation, it attacks the organic law, the constitution, which protects the individual citizen

of America from aggression from every direction, on the part of the government, on the part of the people or on the part of another individual. No constitution can restrain its disordered aspiration. It would cast it away as a wornout garment just because it was sick of it, like a peevish child. How untrustworthy is such a mind was exhibited at Carnegie Hall, when I heard Mr. Roosevelt say that it took six years to amend the constitution of the State of New York, when he, an ex-governor, ought to know that it takes three, yet the influence of his argument was that his audience demanded amendment, and that quickly.

"Every utterance from this socialistic side is a demand for the amendment or abrogation of the constitutions of state and nation, because restrictions are irksome to its passion. Of course, they are irksome. They were framed to be irksome to all impetuous minds and a check upon half-thought out ideas.

TWO FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.

"There are two kinds of government that have been known in this world; one is the autocracy, constantly varying in acceding to popular demands or in refusing them, and the democracy, which holds to the theory that the people can better govern themselves than an autocrat, or even goes fur-

ther and says that it is better that a people should be free and govern themselves badly than to be well governed by an autocrat. The first thing that a democracy is therefore called upon to do in order to govern itself is to establish rules known as a constitution. If a democracy did not do that it would soon find itself in such chaos it would be compelled to ask somebody to step in and save it from itself, thereby destroying itself and creating an autocracy. The issue that is presented is not one regarding any of the concrete proposals called progress, but whether we shall continue to have an organized democracy before the electorate of which, under rules laid down by it, those of divergent opinion may contend for support for their ideas or for the furtherance of their ambitions, inherent rights which all men possess.

"No democracy can endure where the people have voted as they feel, not as they think, for so long a time that they have become incapable of thinking at all. America must avoid this danger point ere it is too late.

THE APPEAL TO THE BLEACHERS.

"Interesting in this connection was the incident of the umpire and the bleachers. Representative Campbell of Kansas charged that Mr. Roosevelt was making his appeal from the umpire to the

bleachers. Mr. Roosevelt, confident that the public mind had been sufficiently abused, that it no longer possessed reasoning power, took up the simile and accepted it—in other words, he distinctly announced that there should be no rules. Do the men on the bleachers at a ball game desire in their hearts there shall be no rules governing that very interesting sport? They know that the umpire is an absolute necessity. Not one of them individually will say otherwise, and yet collectively they might maltreat him. If this became a habit there would be no ball games. We must assume that our umpires are doing their work honestly. The man who does not assume that must of necessity expose what his own conduct would be were he clothed with similar responsibility. I cannot help but be suspicious of the mind which constantly dwells on the short-comings of others. It is not natural for one who leads a life true to obligation to suspect others of not doing the same.

DOCTRINES OF SOCIALISM NOT TO BE URGED UNDER THE GUISE OF REPUBLICANISM.

"It is the supreme duty of the Republican party at this time to make it clear to the people of the United States that our constitutional liberties are in danger, either by amendment of the constitution,

or by revolutionary overthrow. Socialism narrows down to the contention that the electorate has the right to take away the property and liberty of an individual without due process of law. That right of the individual to what he has earned and to his liberty regardless of the fact that the people may wish to take them away is contained in the bill of rights of our constitution. I do not believe there are many citizens in America who advocate the taking away of anything belonging to an individual without due process of law and giving it to others. Most people look upon that as stealing, but it is in effect a tenet of the socialistic faith and every American citizen has a right to cling to any tenet he pleases. All have the right to group and appeal to the electorate that the principles in which they believe shall be enacted into law. If what they want done by law is violative of the constitution then they have an orderly method for amendment. If in due process of time the socialistic party is able to secure a two-thirds majority in Congress and amend the bill of rights of the constitution, and get that amendment adopted by three-fourths of the states, then socialistic legislation will be possible, but this should not be attempted under false colors, under the guise of Republicanism, because it is not Republicanism. It should be attempted by a political party whose purpose is clear and whose ulti-

mate object can be seen like a beacon on a rock.

THE CONSTITUTION TO CONTROL THIS GOVERNMENT.

"It is entirely clear to me to-day, as it has been since the death of William McKinley, that the political alignments growing out of the attempted cataclysm of secession must in time wear away and that a new alignment will gradually take place. It must come through sheer force of human nature between those who believe, as the Republican party has always believed, that this democracy should be self-controlled under the form of a constitution, with courts to protect the individual and those who, consumed with madness, envy, malice or inspiration, hurl themselves against the wall of orderly government, and if successful in beating it down disclose, not the promised land which can never be, but the autocrat, to whom they turn in despair, appalled by the results of their own license."

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New York

REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION

of the STATE OF NEW YORK

1912

ISSUED BY THE

REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE

HEADQUARTERS

43 WEST THIRTY-NINTH STREET

NEW YORK CITY

At the Republican State Convention
Held at Rochester, N. Y.
April 9—10, 1912

V.6

REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION

OF THE

STATE OF NEW YORK.

1912.

ISSUED BY THE

REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE.

Headquarters:

43 WEST 39th STREET,

NEW YORK CITY.

Member Republican National Committee,

WILLIAM BARNES Jr., Albany, N. Y.

REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE.

HEADQUARTERS:

43 WEST 39th STREET,

NEW YORK CITY.

1912.

WILLIAM BARNES, Jr., Chairman.

HARRY H. BENDER, Treasurer.

LAFAYETTE B. GLEASON, Secretary.

N. YORK H.
SEP 16 1912

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State of New York.

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1912.

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Chautauqua	Charles H. Wicks	Jamestown
Chemung	Seymour Lowman	Elmira
Chenango	James P. Hill	Norwich
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Columbia	Charles Tracy	Ghent
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	C. A. Fowler, Sec'y	Poughkeepsie
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RULES OF THE REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE.

Adopted April 2, 1912.

Rule 1. The officers of the Republican State Committee shall be a Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer.

Rule 2. Meetings of the Committee shall be held upon the call of the Chairman, or a majority of its membership.

Rule 3. The general rules of parliamentary law shall be followed in all meetings of the Committee. If any member of the Committee is unable to attend any meeting of same, he may delegate some one by proxy to represent him at such meeting.

Rule 4. The Chairman may appoint sub-committees of such number, and composed in whole or in part of persons not members of this Committee, as he may deem advisable.

Rule 5. All primaries shall be conducted in accordance with the rules and regulations of the party in the political sub-divisions in which said primaries are held.

Rule 6. No candidacy for any nomination for public office shall be endorsed by this Committee.

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STATE OF NEW YORK

PLATFORM ADOPTED

AND

SPEECHES MADE

BY

MESSRS. BUTLER, ROOT WADSWORTH & HEDGES

At the Republican State Convention
Held at Rochester, N. Y.
April 9—10, 1912

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N. Y. Repub. State
Comm.
S. 18'12

Platform of the Republican Party of the State of New York, Adopted at Rochester, April 10, 1912

The Republican Party of New York, in state convention assembled, hereby declares its faith in those fundamental principles of government established in the United States by the adoption of the Constitution.

We believe that this is a self-controlled representative democracy as illustrated by the entire course of our national experience.

We believe that order is the prerequisite of progress, and that this national tradition must not be destroyed nor principle be sacrificed to opportunism.

We believe that the guarantees of the Bill of Rights, as incorporated in the Constitution of the United States for the protection of each citizen, even if threatened by a temporary majority, shall be forever preserved.

We believe that public conscience should express itself properly and affirmatively *in the election* of public officials and not negatively *in their recall.* To reverse this order would encourage disregard of duty in electing public officers and place a premium on neglect of that duty. The fundamental consideration is that public servants shall be soberly elected rather than carelessly elected and then cashiered.

The new and constantly changing conditions incident to the industrial development of the last half century are insistently demanding readjustment through legislation. We urge legislation to give better protection to life and health and to safeguard those who are engaged in dangerous occupations. And we further advocate a workman's compensation act which in large business organizations shall establish as far as possible the principle of insurance against injury to employees.

We believe in adequate laws to prevent monopoly in trade. We favor the retention of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. But it should be supplemented by further legislation to give the same certainty to the law controlling combinations and monopolies that characterize other provisions of our commercial law to the end that the field of business opportunity shall not be restricted by monopoly or combination, that business success honestly achieved may not be converted into crimes, and that the right of all men to acquire commodity and particularly the necessities of life in an open market, uninfluenced by the manipulation of trust or combination, may be preserved.

There should be provision for an administrative board for the bet-

ter enforcement of the law against monopoly. There should be further legislation to define as criminal offences specific acts which mark attempts to restrain and monopolize trade so that those who honestly intend to obey the law may have a guide for action and those who violate the law may more surely be punished.

We believe in the Republican principle of protection to American workingmen, American industries, and the American farmer. Customs duties should be adjusted so as to cover the difference between the cost of production in this and in other countries, and such adjustments should be made by Congress upon facts ascertained by an impartial board with authority to make a thorough investigation. We condemn the action of the Democratic Party in the House of Representatives who long professed to favor a tariff commission to ascertain the facts upon which customs might be based and who immediately after obtaining power repudiated their former professions and proceeded to pass tariff bills without regard to the facts reported and without inquiring into or caring for the needs of American business or American labor.

We believe in the amendment of the National Banking Law and the creation of a national reserve association, together with provision for an elastic system of currency and credit properly safeguarded and free from domination of any sectional or special financial influence.

We believe in the peaceful settlement of all international disputes and the reference of all justiciable controversies to an international court of justice.

We oppose as subversive of our form of government the initiative, the compulsory legislative referendum and the recall, either of public servants or judicial decisions, or any device which impairs consistency and continuity in the expression of popular will.

We oppose the recall of judges or any system which will introduce cowardice as an element in the administration of justice. The authority of the judiciary should not be impaired. Respect for the courts once broken down, the constitutional protection of the liberties of the individual would be destroyed.

We urge the delegates at large from New York and the delegates from the Congressional districts to contend at the Republican National Convention for the adoption of the principles herein endorsed and the repudiation of the doctrines herein opposed.

We applaud the patriotism, wisdom and undramatic courage of President William H. Taft. The overwhelming majority of the representatives of the party in this convention assembled favor his renomination, and we urge that the delegates at large here elected in their action at Chicago carry out this choice of the Republicans of the State and that the district delegates unite to the same end.

DR. BUTLER'S ADDRESS

FELLOW REPUBLICANS:

For the signal honor of being chosen as temporary presiding officer of this Convention, I offer an expression of my grateful thanks and appreciation.

In this assembly we have a chance to see our representative institutions at work. We have come here from every part of the State of New York, bearing credentials from our neighbors and fellow-members of our Party, in order that we may select four delegates-at-large to represent the Republicans of New York in the Convention which is called to meet at Chicago to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States. We are at the same time to declare our convictions and beliefs as to those matters of present moment which concern not only the policies of the Republican Party, but the interests of all the people of the United States. It is our duty, as it is our privilege, to represent as faithfully as we can the convictions and the preferences of those who have sent us here. It is equally our duty and our privilege to sound no uncertain or faltering note as to what we believe to be at stake in the political contest which has, informally at least, already begun. It is furthermore our duty and our privilege to bring to the decision of these matters our best, most independent, and most patriotic judgment.

Since March 4, 1897, Republican policies and convictions have been represented and voiced in the highest executive office under our government. We are to ask for a renewal of popular confidence and support. We are to point not only to what has been accomplished, but to what we propose to do if entrusted for a still longer period with the executive control of the Government of the United States.

Republicans Welcome Criticism from Opponents.

What criticism is made of the Republican administration of the nation during the past sixteen years? There is, first, the honest and fair criticism of our opponents from whom we differ in many matters of fundamental political policy, which criticism we expect to meet and to answer before the people when the issue is joined. This criticism is a natural and necessary incident in the conduct of a republican form of government carried on, as it only can be successfully carried on, under the two-party system. Second, there is criticism of a new

and unusual kind. It comes from an element which, however numerous, is certainly in full possession of its powers of speech, and which is found in part within the ranks of our own Party and in part within the ranks of the Democratic Party. It includes the whole of the Socialist Party, as well as some of those whose mental condition is one of such blissful elevation that they cannot find any political association quite satisfactory to them. These critics tell us that we are behind the times; that we are, in the significant language of the gaming table, "stand-patters"; that we have lost touch with the march of progress; that we are out of sympathy with the satisfaction of the deepest human needs and with the alleviation of human suffering; that we put property rights above human rights; and that some means—violent if possible, peaceable if necessary—must be found to free the Government from our paralyzing control.

To one who knows the political history of the United States, to one who has followed the development and policies of the Republican Party, to one who realizes the overwhelming measure of popular support and approval that those policies have had for half a century, these charges seem strange indeed. One wonders whether he is really listening to the speech of sane men or to the incoherent ravings of Bedlam.

The Republican Party had its birth in the struggle for human freedom. It was responsible for the conduct of a stupendous war to preserve the Government founded by the Constitution. It enacted the legislation necessary to open up the public lands of the West in order that the rapidly growing population might find homesteads and share in the possession of the soil. It entered upon the industrial policy which in its judgment would develop manufactures and commerce, advance the wages of labor, and use effectively the natural resources and opportunities of the country. It fought for and secured the definitive establishment of the gold standard for our currency, and thereby preserved both the good name and the credit of the Nation. It formulated the legislation to control and to destroy monopolies in interstate commerce, and it has vigorously and successfully enforced that law. It has steadily extended the operation of the merit system in its application to appointments and promotions in the Civil Service, and it has thereby freed the civil servants of the people from partisan domination and ejectment. It has, both in the Congress of the United States and in the Legislatures of the several States, led the way in formulating legislation to meet new and complex social needs and problems, as well as to protect and to safeguard the wage-earner. To these important achievements might be added many others. What, then, is the trouble, what is the character and the measure of Republican shortcoming?

Injustice of Criticism.

The answer comes back that our whole form of government is askew; that the Republicans and the Democrats are equally at fault; that all departments of the Government are controlled by special and material interests; and that the people, whose government it is, have no longer any voice in its management. If these statements were made of the government of Russia in the seventeenth century, or of the government of China under the Manchu kings, or of the government of an unreformed Turkey, they would neither surprise nor alarm us. But they are made of the Government of the United States; of the government of Washington and Hamilton, of Jefferson and Madison; of the government of Marshall and Webster, of Jackson and Lincoln. They are made of *our* Government, under which at this moment an overwhelming majority of one hundred millions of human beings are living in happiness and contentment, and enjoying a reasonable degree of prosperity, educating their children, and looking forward to constantly expanding opportunities for usefulness and satisfaction. These statements are so preposterous, so contrary to recorded and demonstrated fact, and intrinsically so absurd, that unless we were constantly hearing and reading them we might have difficulty in persuading ourselves that they are really made. One may be pardoned for asking whether as a people we have lost both our common sense and the saving grace of humor that we are able to listen to such nonsense with anything resembling patience.

Intelligence of the People Opposed to Despotism.

What do these extraordinary statements mean? They appear to mean, so far as they mean anything intelligible, either that the American people are incompetent for self-government, or that they have created a governmental machinery which, while in form under popular control, is really managed by private and special interest. Examine for a moment these alternatives. If the American people are incompetent for self-government, then it can make little difference what programme we propose or what candidates we adopt. Sooner or later a people incompetent for self-government will pass under the heel of a despot, where they belong. "But," it is said, "of course we do not mean anything so absurd as that. The American people are really most wise and most competent, only they are bound hand and foot by governmental forms and traditions, which hold them as in a vise." It appears, on farther inquiry, that what is really meant is that representative government and representative institutions are a failure, and that they must be swept aside to make way for a direct democracy.

In particular, it appears that the most characteristic and beneficent of American institutions, the independent judiciary charged with the interpretation of the law and with the safeguarding of constitutional limitations, is now regarded as a harmful check upon the people's will and as an obstacle to their free and progressive social and political development. This brings us within reasonable distance of something that can be intelligently debated.

Uncalled-for Denunciation of the Judiciary.

When we pass from these vague generalities which declaimers and stand-lot orators and perpetual candidates for office so dearly love, and come to concrete issues, what are these governmental forms and traditions that are found to be so harmful and so abundant in unfortunate limitations? What is the characteristic of judges and of courts that has so suddenly converted them from public servants of the highest type into public enemies of the most dangerous character? What has happened to lead us to turn our backs upon the forms of representative government set up by the Constitution of the United States and hailed everywhere for more than a century as the greatest political advance made by modern men? All this advance, all this progress, all this successful seeking after liberty under law, has, it seems, suddenly become fossilized, out of date, and a phase of the rule of the dead hand.

If this vehement denunciation of our Government and of our courts is one-half true, then the Republican Party should get down on its knees and apologize to the people of this country for having three times defeated so far-sighted a man as Mr. Bryan for the Presidency of the United States.

It might be supposed that since the people themselves freely choose their executive and legislative representatives for short terms, and in their own way, they would find agents willing and able to execute their declared will. If not, why all this excitement and discussion year by year, as to local, state and national elections? Is it conceivable that all these candidates for executive and legislative offices are the creatures of political bosses and of special interests, and that none of them, or no large part of them, owe allegiance to the people and are willing to serve the people's interests? The question answers itself, unless we are to suppose a popular incompetence and a popular corruption that would make all government impossible. The fact of the matter is that the majority of the people are having their way in local, state and national affairs whenever they are interested enough to let it be known with definiteness what their way is. They will have their

way still more promptly and effectively when the short ballot system is adopted. The assertion that something remains to be done to establish the rule of the people is as foolish as it is false. Those who are dissatisfied belong chiefly to one of two classes. They belong either to a fussy and petulant minority that wishes to use the legislative power of the people to advance some fad or fancy of its own, or they belong, consciously or unconsciously, to that large group of Socialists and semi-Socialists who are waging relentless war on representative government, on civil liberty, and on the rights of property everywhere. With these petulant minorities we need not deal farther than to express the hope that they will always remain minorities, and that time may bring them resignation instead of petulance. With the Socialists and semi-Socialists, however, we are compelled to deal, and we should deal with them openly, frankly, and by the use of the arguments which Nature and history have placed in our hands.

The Recall Aimed at Honest Judges.

What these revolutionary elements of the population most dislike is the rule of law. They call it the rule of the established order, but they mean the rule of law. Their conception of government is a sort of glorified lynching, before which the achievements at Springfield, Ill., or at Coatesville, Pa., would fade into insignificance. The phrase "due process of law" drives them to frenzy, and any judicial officer who, in obedience to his oath, ventures to declare the law to be something which is out of agreement with their present-day prepossessions, prejudices, emotions or desires, becomes a tyrant who should be dashed from his place on the Bench by the profoundly wicked instrumentality of the recall of judges. The process of impeachment is at hand for the removal of the corrupt or unjust judge, if such there be; the recall, be it remembered, is aimed at the courageous and high-minded judge who defends the people's will from the attacks of the people's feeling and the people's passion. It has been well said that "savages do not like an independent and upright judiciary; they want the judge to decide their way, and if he does not, they want to behead him."

It is forgotten, apparently, that a judge declares the law, but does not make it, and that in declaring the law he is executing the people's highest and most mature will. In so doing he is not imposing anything upon the people save what they, as responsible, reflective, civilized human beings, have imposed upon themselves as the necessary and well-justified restraints upon appetite and passion. The rule of law is not something imposed upon a free people from without. It consists of the self-imposed limitations which justice and equity de-

mand. The man who would destroy the independent judiciary because he dislikes or differs from some specific judicial finding is as mad as a man who would set his house on fire in order to improve its ventilation.

It must be remembered that there is one thing superior to the people's will and beyond the people's reach, and that is the ever-lasting distinction between right and wrong, between justice and injustice. A majority may make theft legal, but they cannot make it right. The demand for the overthrow of courts and their findings by an appeal to general opinion is an appeal from law to lawlessness, from order to anarchy. It will provide a new opportunity for calculated cunning to play upon credulous ignorance.

Is the Republican Party to Drift from Its Traditions?

With all this the Republican Party—always and everywhere a Party dedicated to the advancement of human liberty and to the broadening of human opportunity—must be everlastingly at war. This is no time for the ordinary platitudes of party complacency. We are not yet ready to substitute government by men of presumably good intentions for government by law. This contest within the party, and this Presidential election, may decide whether our government is to be republican or Cossack. Are the Republicans of New York for constitutional government or against it? Are they prepared to maintain and to advance the old historic party of Lincoln, or are they ready to cast its principles and its convictions to the winds in order to make a new and revolutionary one? We owe it to our traditions, we owe it to ourselves, we owe it to the people of the United States, to make the fight vigorously and in the open for the preservation of the Government founded by the Constitution and for the development of our political life along and within the lines and limitations there established. This is the one and only path of enlightened and constructive statesmanship.

But, it is said, the Constitution was made in the eighteenth century; the Constitution was made by men who lived under conditions long since passed away; the Constitution was made by men whose experience was drawn from economic facts quite different from those of to-day. Therefore, the Constitution is outworn. It must be adjusted, the phrase now runs, to human rights. All this would be humorous were it not so pathetic.

If the Constitution is Antiquated, How About the Rule of Three?

What about the multiplication table? What about the Rule of Three? What about the law of gravitation? Some of these come

down to us from hoary antiquity. Surely they cannot be allowed to pass unamended in the face of such changed conditions as now surround us! Why should the dead hand of the Greeks and of the Arabs and of Sir Isaac Newton control our life and thought? Let us be free and independent and adjust our modes of counting and of computation to the new economic needs that surround us! Perhaps those who invented the multiplication table and the Rule of Three never heard of a corporation with a thousand millions of capital. How could the multiplication table and the Rule of Three be expected to deal with a condition such as that?

The fact is that in the history of mankind some things, after long toil and tribulation, are settled once for all. They neither invite nor permit amendment and improvement. These achievements, taken together, *are* progress; they constitute progress; they are the evidences of progress; they are what the word progress means. To attack, to undermine, or to overturn them is not progress, but reaction. Everything else that is progress is built upon them and assumes their existence. It is progressive to prune a tree and to fertilize the soil in which it grows; it is reactionary to tear it up by the roots in order to see how it is getting on.

Stability of the Party's Principles.

The fundamental principles which underlie the Constitution of the United States are of this kind. The history of the past century and a quarter has proved conclusively not only that those principles are sound and true, but that they are plastic and susceptible of development in their application to new needs and conditions. They are no straight-jacket into which a growing people is forced to its distress and harm. They are rather a chart by which the ship of state may sail safely out on new and untried seas, certain that the danger spots are clearly marked and the havens accurately indicated. These constitutional principles, these representative institutions, this independent judiciary, rest not alone upon the authority of the fathers, not alone upon more than a century of briliantly successful experience; they rest also upon principles of human nature and of human rights so secure and so firm that if the work of building a government for a free, independent and self-disciplined people had to be done all over again, if we were to begin again to-day, the result would be precisely the same. These principles can never grow old; they are everlastingly young and new and true.

Of course, it is perfectly possible for a majority of the people, if they are so minded, to overturn the principles of our constitutional government or to deprive them of their meaning; but this must not

be done under the false and deceiving banner of progress or in the name of human rights. The men who wish to do these things are men whose aim, whether they know it or not, is reaction, not progress; backward revolution, not advance; and anarchy, not order under law. True progress is order in motion, not chaos in eruption.

The fact of the matter is that the long temporizing of the American people with lawlessness is beginning to bear bitter political fruit. We cry out with one voice at some striking and conspicuous evidence of disregard for law, but we sit mutely by while a hundred law-breaking acts less conspicuous in character are committed and while the habit of lawlessness and of contempt for law is being formed. We even applaud when some high and popular official snaps his fingers at the law and its restraints upon him. Mistakes may be made—indeed, mistakes often are made—in the enactment of laws; but, once enacted, it is the business of the executive and judicial departments of the Government to enforce them with impartiality and strict justice, to the end that if they do not accomplish what was expected of them these laws may be modified or repealed. We need a new baptism of faith in law and a new revelation as to the futility of enacting tens of thousands of statutes. We have fallen so into the habit of legislating on a hundred and one minor details of life as to which there are reasonable and proper differences of opinion, that we have in large measure destroyed the feeling of sanctity for law upon which alone our institutions and our civilization can rest.

Lawlessness Threatens the Fundamental Law.

This widespread lawlessness and contempt for law has now reached the fundamental law itself. This lawlessness began with disregard of criminal statutes. It soon grew to include disregard of statutes of another kind, which did not happen to commend themselves to the individual law-breaker. It is now widespread enough to include contempt for that fundamental law which is the foundation of all statutes and which alone stands between the individual citizen and tyranny, whether it be the tyranny of a single despot or the tyranny of a many-headed majority. It is confidently predicted by the political direct-action men that when their dynamiting of the government is over, the happy day will dawn when law and the application of law will be decided upon, not by public officers acting under the sanctity of a judicial oath, but by the marching mob and those tumultuous assemblages from which so out-of-date a patriot as Daniel Webster told us that our American mode of government could draw no power. When that day dawns, no individual's life will be safe, no individual's property will be secure; for the restraints which a republican form of

government puts upon itself for their protection will have been torn away. Liberty goes when order falls. Human rights are then not worth a minute's purchase, any more than is the life of a poor negro pleading for justice while the howling and exultant mob pushes him into the flames or riddles his hanging body with bullets.

Political Patent Medicine Men Recommend Their Nostrums.

Conditions in the United States to-day are singularly like those which have attracted the favorable attention of a certain class of persons who are forced to make a living by their wits. The vendor of a patent medicine assures his hearers that they have at the moment some distressing symptoms, naming symptoms which every one has at one time or another. His hearers, assenting, easily accept the inference that they are seriously diseased and in need of instant relief. That relief can only be had from the contents of the bottle or package which they may purchase of him at a satisfactory price. Just this performance is being enacted to-day all over the United States by itinerant political patent medicine men. They tell all those who will listen that we are politically diseased and that our political life is in danger; our symptoms are those dreadful manifestations which, to some extent and in some degree, every human being and every form of society feel now and then. But the cure, the certain, sure, speedy cure, is to purchase the bottle or the package which contains the political patent medicine that the particular political patent medicine man has for sale. His plausible story wins enough support to gain him a livelihood and to keep his name in active prominence before the public.

We are to-day infested with these political patent medicine men. Ignorant of ordinary laws of political and social growth, or defying them, they press upon us the odd and curious nostrums of their own making which are to cure all our evils, to abolish poverty, to do away with injustice, and to bring about that happy and blissful Utopia of which certain types of men with nothing useful to do habitually dream.

Pious and oracular aphorisms are the stock in trade of the political patent medicine man whose pursuit of a higher office is so compelling that he cannot find time to attend to the duties of the office which he already holds. The plain discharge of present duty does not seem likely to commend him sufficiently to a larger and more important constituency. Neither the Senate of the United States nor the governorship of a sovereign State offers adequate scope for his activities and his genius. He must hurry off, while public business waits, in order that he may sound his own praises and recite his own phrases to the open-mouthed thousands who assemble to greet so great a man.

These great men love platitudes. They are very fond of saying: "Human rights must no longer be trampled under foot by property rights." This is one of their profound and moving utterances. Inasmuch, however, as property rights are human rights, and as property includes the clothes that we wear and the roof that shelters us and the food in the closet, as well as the stocks and bonds that we may own or the balance that we may have in the bank, it is plain that these particular demagogues are muddled. What they really have in mind, if they could think at all clearly, is a contrast between one sort or kind of human rights and another. But if they said anything so simple as that, the whole issue would be perfectly plain, everybody would agree, the end in view would speedily be accomplished, and they would be out of business. Another thing that they are fond of telling us is that the cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy. Those words sound as if they meant something—but what is it? What do they mean? Democracy is a form of government. We either have it or we do not have it. It may be improved or injured in quality, but how can it be added to or diminished in quantity? As a matter of fact, this statement means absolutely nothing, although it tickles the ears of the groundlings and appears to convey a great and inspiring political truth. Obviously, the only way to cure the evils of democracy is to overcome those evils with good. Still another battle-cry especially well thought of by those who are waging war on constitutional forms and limitations is this: "The country and its government belong to the people who live in it." Here is another majestic utterance, which can hardly be denied; but the question remains, just what does it mean? Does it mean that those who live in a country and under a government are at liberty to ravage and to burn the one or to corrupt and to overturn the other? Or does it mean that there is some limitation upon the right of those who live in a country and under a government as to what they may do with the one and the other? If there is a limitation, who put it there and what is it? The fact of the matter is that all these soothsayings, just now enjoying more or less popularity, are plain, simple, ordinary, meaningless platitudes. The demagogue's platitudes remain platitudes even when he makes them pompous. These platitudes are the delight of men for whom politics is a perpetual running to a fire, and then returning disconsolately from one false alarm after another. They are the stock in trade of those who mistake the lamentations of the disappointed and the unsuccessful and the cries of the vindictive for the voice of the people.

It may perhaps be said that, however misleading these political patent medicine men may be, however ignorant and however selfish the popular demagogues of the day, yet they have gained so large a

following that we must listen to them and buy their political patent medicine or else we shall fail to carry the next Presidential election. I deny it absolutely. I deny that the Republican Party and its principles are for sale. I deny that a political party exists only to win elections at any cost. I assert, on the contrary, that any self-respecting political party exists, first of all, to advance the doctrines of human liberty and of government in which it believes, and to seek to carry those doctrines into practical political action. If it sells its principles, it is no longer a political party, but only an organized appetite.

Socialism the Driving Force Against the Courts.

Nor do I think so poorly of the American people as to believe for a single instant that the way to win a Presidential election is to cast principle to the winds and to build our hopes upon the shifting sands of expediency. Have we not had a convincing illustration within the memory of every one of us? Who does not remember the struggle in the Republican Party and in its National Convention at St. Louis in 1896 to bring about a specific declaration in favor of the gold standard of currency with that one little word of four letters plainly written in it? Were we not told that we were throwing away State after State, that we were disrupting the Party, that, whatever might be the importance of the principle involved, we were engaged in a fatuous course that was fit only for idealists and quite unbecoming practical politicians? We stood up and made the fight, the Republican delegation from New York, to their honor be it said, standing firm as a rock for principle. Every child in the public schools knows what happened. As we went before the people and made perfectly plain, in the simplest and most direct language, the issue of principle that was involved, a principle that was moral as well as economic, we reached their intelligence and their conscience. William McKinley went into the White House with an overwhelming majority of electoral votes and the question of a debased and fluctuating standard for our currency was settled forever.

Why should we hesitate to follow precisely the same course in 1912 that served us so well in 1896? Let us stand up before all the people of the United States and say that we propose to go forward with policies of true, not false, progress; that we propose to protect and care for human rights, whether of person or of property, without privilege and without monopoly; but that we propose to do this under the fundamental guarantees of our constitutional government and in accordance with its representative forms. The United States Supreme Court has in luminous language declared that the meaning of our republican form of government is to be settled by political action and

not by judicial decision. Let us make the maintenance of our republican form of government a political question. Let us make it the leading and controlling political question. Let us insist that the specific issues and questions of the moment be met and settled in accordance with our existing form of government, and that every attempt to supplant it with a direct and socialistic democracy shall be resisted by all the power and influence that we possess.

Make no mistake, my fellow-Republicans; the inspiration and driving force behind the movement for the overthrow of representative institutions and for the attacks upon the integrity and independence of the courts is Socialism. There is the enemy. Socialists may well look on with satisfied contentment while the poor blind folk who still call themselves Republicans or Democrats do their bidding and labor to put into effect their policies. The civil liberty of the individual and the institution of private property are hateful in their eyes. They dream of a collectivist state in which every individual will be a pawn moved on the chessboard of industry and politics as the overpowering might of a numerical majority may determine. Do not call that progress. Do not call that consonant with a republican form of government. Do not call that American.

We must challenge these doctrines each and all, in our own Party and in other Parties, at the very outset of this campaign; and we may be perfectly confident that if we do, the American people will respond just as they responded in 1896, and that after the polls close in November next one more great question will be settled, and settled right. Our representative government will be secure from the attacks of believers in a direct and socialistic democracy.

The Supreme Issue in the Campaign.

The supreme issue in this campaign is the preservation of representative institutions and the maintenance of an independent judiciary. No other political proposal can approach in importance the maintenance of the form of government under which we live. It is idle to say that the novel proposals now made relate only to action by the states and not to action by the United States. The temperament and the spirit that bring them forward in the several states would easily find some plausible excuse to bring them forward in the nation if they were to be given the slightest encouragement. It will be well for us, therefore, to spend a little less time in discussing the political "Who's Who," and considerably more time in clearing up our convictions as to the political "What's What." In doing so, let every American bear in mind the noble and inspiring words which Washington wrote in his farewell address:

"This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the Constitution, which at any time exists till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. . . . Toward the preservation of your Government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One mode of assault will be to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion."

The Specific Program of the Campaign.

Let it be granted, as it must be if the Party is to endure, that the Republican Party will enter upon the campaign of 1912 in the spirit of Washington and of Lincoln, and firm in defence of the fundamental principles of our government, as well as unflinching in support of the rule of the people in accordance with those forms and institutions that reason prescribes and experience upholds. Then we shall be asked, and properly asked, what is our specific programme? So far as one member of the Party may make his voice heard, I wish to declare myself for brief, simple, direct, and unequivocal declarations on the chief matters which are now awaiting solution as national questions. Of these I name those which are of most importance:

Workingmen's Compensation Legislation.

(1) Public opinion is asking that greater protection be given to the life and health of the community; that workingmen's compensation legislation be enacted; and that there be larger and more prompt

recognition of the social problem in its many phases. Under our form of government, the chief responsibility for meeting this demand rests, and must rest, with the Legislatures of the several States. In so far as the Congress has authority, however, the Republican Party should pledge itself to use that authority to the utmost in order that these beneficent ends may be promoted in the highest public interest and without indulging in economic orgies.

A Modern Banking System.

(2) Legislation should speedily be enacted, substantially as recommended by the National Monetary Commission, to provide the people of the United States with an adequate, modern, and scientific banking system. This should not become a question about which political parties struggle. It is a matter, however, of the greatest present importance to every business man in the whole United States—and therefore to the entire population—whether his interests be large or small. The whole force and power of the Republican Party should be given in a spirit, not of contention, but of patriotism, to the enactment of the necessary legislation. It is in the highest degree discreditable to us as a people that we have so long tolerated conditions surrounding our banking and credit system that produce and intensify panics, make possible an unreasonable variation in the interest rate, and offer unexampled opportunity for dangerous speculation and for highly centralized, if wholly unofficial, control of the nation's banking resources.

Readjustment of the Duties Imposed on Imports.

(3) The just expectation of the people that the duties imposed on imports should be revised and reduced ought to be met without delay. There are three ways of fixing rates of duty on imported merchandise. These rates of duty may be fixed, first, without any knowledge of manufacturing and commercial conditions whatsoever. This is not a good thing to do. These rates of duty may be fixed, second, on the basis of statements made by interested persons only, whether importers, manufacturers, or wage-earners. This is not a good thing to do. These rates of duty may be fixed, third, on the basis of information as to manufacturing and trade conditions obtained by a government board or commission acting solely in the public interest and with a view to doing justice to manufacturer, wage-earner, importer, and the people as a whole. The last is the only way in which the Republican Party can afford to undertake revision and reduction of the tariff. In dealing with this problem we should never forget almost

the last words of President McKinley, contained in his great speech at Buffalo:

"The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. A policy of good will and friendly trade relations will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not."

The Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

(4) During the past twelve years the meaning and application of the so-called Sherman Anti-Trust Law have been defined and clarified by numerous far-reaching decisions of the United States Supreme Court. That law should not, and need not, be amended or weakened. What is now needed is supplementary legislation, conceived in the same broad and statesmanlike spirit that the language of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law itself reveals, which will make possible administrative control, without preliminary judicial process, of individuals and corporations engaged in interstate commerce, so far as this may be necessary to prevent monopoly and unfair practices. This will relieve business, both big and little, from the uncertainty and indecision that now hold it in check. In my judgment, experience and the judicial decisions of the last twelve years indicate with some clearness the lines along which new legislation should be drawn. The proposal that the Government of the United States shall fix the prices of articles used in interstate commerce, however, is absolutely abhorrent, and an illustration of Socialism in one of its most maleficent forms. It is perfectly possible, by the use of the taxing power, to control and to limit privilege and monopoly without placing ourselves under the tyrannical régime of government-made prices.

President Taft's International Policies.

(5) The international policies which have dignified and made memorable the administration of President Taft should be continued and extended until we have convinced not only the whole civilized world, but ourselves as well, that we are committed to a policy of peace, good will, and the judicial settlement of international disputes. The organization of our own Federal Government illustrates to the fullest extent the possibilities of a civilized world in which one standard of justice rules and one great court is its final interpreter. Some good people have yet to learn that a treaty with another nation, pledging ourselves to submit all differences between the two nations for judicial settlement, is no more an alliance than a law suit is a marriage. This

will perhaps become clear in time, even to the most boisterous elements of our population.

Appalling Extravagance Should be Checked.

(6) The appalling extravagance of government should be checked, and the Republican Party should pledge itself to check it. It may well be asked whether, in instituting a much-needed inquiry into the high cost of living, we should not begin with an inquiry into the high cost of being governed. An experienced statesman is reported to have said that the Government of the United States could be conducted at a saving of $300,000,000 a year if it could be organized on business principles. It would be an act of constructive statesmanship to make a serious effort to test what saving could actually be made by a more business-like and economical conduct of government, in order that the burden of taxation may be relieved. The conventional excuse for a huge appropriation is that this is a rich country. It is not the country, however, that pays taxes; taxes are paid by human beings.

Natural Resources Should be Developed.

(7) Those natural resources of the country that still remain part of the public domain, whether forests, mineral lands, or water power, should be so used and developed as to give the benefits of ownership to the people as a whole while affording opportunity to those who undertake the task of development to gain a fair reward for their labor and their investment.

Elimination of Long Delays and Expensive Appeals in Civil Cases.

(8) That the courts, both Federal and State, may bear the heavy burden laid upon them to the complete satisfaction of public opinion, steps should speedily be taken to avoid the long delays and the tedious and costly appeals which now so often amount to a denial of justice in civil cases and to a failure to protect the public at large in criminal cases. This reform would of itself relieve the courts of much criticism now directed against them, but which they, without legislative assistance, are not able to meet.

In a short time we shall have completed the work that has called us here. We shall have declared our wishes and intentions and we shall have made a declaration of our principles. The Presidential campaign will soon open with vigor and in earnest. There will be scenes of excitement, no doubt; there will be appeals and counter-appeals, denunciations and counter-denunciations; there will be great outbursts of enthusiasm and of feeling, of devotion to individual leaders, and of adherence to particular principles. Yet the next President

of the United States will not be chosen in any of these ways, nor will the policies of this Republic for the next four years be so determined.

My mind goes back to a never-to-be-forgotten scene that I witnessed as a boy. It was my privilege to be present during the sessions of the Republican National Convention which met at Chicago in June, 1880. Rarely since the foundation of the Government had so many strong men of wide political experience and high political ability been gathered together in one hall. The members of that Convention were sharply divided. They were divided not only as to personalities, but as to a principle. As one name after another was mentioned for the Presidency of the United States, there were scenes of almost unparalleled, certainly of unprecedented, enthusiasm and excitement. Under the impulse of strong feeling men became as children, and noise, loud and long-continued, gave exultant expression to emotions for which words were inadequate. After a time there arose from his place among the delegates from the State of Ohio a man of striking presence, who made his way to the platform to present to the Convention the candidate of his choice. He began with these impressive words:

"As I sat in my seat and witnessed this demonstration, this assemblage seemed to me a human ocean in tempest. I have seen the sea lashed into fury and tossed into spray, and its grandeur moves the soul of the dullest man; but I remember that it is not the billows, but the calm level of the sea, from which all heights and depths are measured. When the storm has passed and the hour of calm settles on the ocean, when the sunlight bathes its peaceful surface, then the astronomer and surveyor take the level from which they measure all terrestrial heights and depths.

"Gentlemen of the Convention, your present temper may not mark the healthful pulse of our people. When your enthusiasm has passed, when the emotions of this hour have subsided, we shall find below the storm and passion that calm level of public opinion from which the thoughts of a mighty people are to be measured, and by which their final action will be determined.

"Not here, in this brilliant circle where fifteen thousand men and women are gathered, is the destiny of the Republic to be decreed for the next four years. Not here, where I see the enthusiastic faces of seven hundred and fifty-six delegates waiting to cast their lots into the urn and determine the choice of the Republic; but by four millions of Republican firesides, where the thoughtful voters, with wives and children about them, with the calm thoughts inspired by love of home and country, with the history of the past, the hopes of the future, and reverence for the great men who have adorned and blessed our nation

in days gone by, burning in thier hearts—*there* God prepares the verdict which will determine the wisdom of our work to-night."

The man who spoke these words was James A. Garfield, and he was destined to become the next President of the United States.

So, my fellow-Republicans, I say that it is not in heat, in temper, or in passion, that the next President of the United States will be chosen. He will be the deliberate choice of the American people after they have had time to think, after they have had time to weigh the attacks upon the foundation of their Government, and after they have had time to contemplate the almost immeasurable distance which separates that progress which is true and lasting from that progress which is false and destructive.

SENATOR ROOT'S SPEECH

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the Convention: I have risen to second the resolution reported by the Chairman of your committee, but I shall confine what I have to say to a single subject treated in this series of resolutions, the subject which covers the attempt to interfere with the independence and destroy the authority of the judicial department of our Government. I confine myself to this because I regard it as of overshadowing and overwhelming importance. We may change our tariff laws, and if we are not satisfied with them we may change them again. We may change our method of nominating officers, and if the system does not work right we change it again. We can change our method of electing officers and change it again. All the ordinary laws which affect the conduct of business and the relations of men to each other and the powers of government in general may be changed and rechanged to suit the developing feelings and interests and opinions of the people, but the duty of submitting our will, whether it be the will of the individual or the will of the greatest majority that ever gathered at the polls to the eternal principles of justice, that can never be changed without the degradation of the people who reject it. (Applause.)

Founders of the Republic Wise Men in More Ways Than One.

The founders of our republic were wise men in more ways than one. They understood history and the philosophy of government, and they understood human nature. They were students, and they were men of affairs, and they founded our government upon two basic propositions, upon two underlying truths. One of them was the truth that you and I learned in our childhood, for we came of a God-fearing people as they did. We learned and we should not forget that our natures are weak, prone to err, subject to fall into temptation and to be led astray by impulse. All the history of religion, of morality, of government, all the history of men, teems with universal and overwhelming proof of this great truth, upon a recognition of which our civil society rests. They knew, too, that men are no more perfect in the mass than they are as individuals. They knew that indeed when men come together or act in great bodies, free from the sense of personal responsibility, they will often do things that they would shrink from doing as individuals.

The party whose vitality has brought us here was founded upon resistance, to the spread of that doctrine under which vast majorities, overwhelming majorities in the states covering nearly one-half of our land, majorities composed of men as true, as honorable, as noble, as live in America, or anywhere on earth, united in holding millions of black men slaves. The life of the Republican Party was a protest against that rule of the majorities in the South. We live as an organized protest against the majorities that defy the rule of justice.

Principles of Right Conduct.

One other great fundamental principle they based themselves upon, and that was that there is only one way in which man can control his own tendencies to error, and that is by the adoption, the recognition and the enforcement upon himself of declared principles of right conduct. So throughout the history of the world the assertion of principles to govern men and to restrain their impulses has been the method of advance in morality, in social conditions, in civilization. Principles inculcated by religion, the principles of social honor, the violation of which is visited by the community with penalties more terrible than the prison and the execution; declared principles of action, sometimes enforced by a Superior from above, sometimes enforced by intelligent self-control, are the only antidote, the only remedy, the only preventive or that yielding to impulse which to-day makes the people of Mexico one tumultuous mob, devastating that fair land which had taken so many forward steps under the rule of law and order along the pathway of civilization. Upon these two foundations our government was based, and for that imposition of rules of conduct that formerly came from a monarch our fathers substituted the imposition of rules of right conduct by the people, upon themselves. They put the declarations of principle into our organic laws in colonies, in states, and in the nation, and we call them constitutional limitations.

Constitutional Limitations Impersonal.

There is prejudice in some minds against the discussion of constitutional limitations, because lawyers become dry and tedious and narrow and technical in discussing them, but they are the declaration of those principles of eternal justice upon which civilization rests, set up by the people for their own guidance. They are a covenant between all the people, and every man, every woman and every child in the state. They are a covenant between arbitrary and overwhelming power and the weakness of the individual. These constitutional limitations are necessarily established in the abstract. They are impersonal. They are the rules of action which are established when men have no

particular interest at stake. They are the rules of action that are established when there is no strong desire to do injustice. Universal and impersonal, they constitute the nearest approach that humanity has ever come to putting into human law the divine rules conformity to which is the requisite of a Christian civilization. These limitations cannot be enforced except by having some one who shall say whether a particular action that they design to restrain does violate them or not, and in order that they may be determined, in order that the line may be drawn, our fathers established the judicial system in which there should be placed judges impartial, upright, free from any complicity in the interests that came before them, who should do justice in accordance with these declared principles, to rich and poor alike, without fear or favor or hope of reward. Upon the independence and the authority of those judges depend the perpetuity of this system of restraint upon ourselves which is essential to the prevalence of justice and the continuance of our free institutions.

Making Cowards of Judges.

Now, if you undertake to say to a judge that if he decides against the popular will that finds itself restrained by the declaration of one of these principles of conduct under the Constitution he shall be recalled, you make a coward of him. (Applause.) It is not in human nature that judges shall hold the scales just as evenly when they know that by making an unpopular decision they themselves will be the sacrifices. It will introduce the rule of cowardice in place of the rule of courage. It will introduce the rule of time-serving in place of the rule of fearless justice. It will introduce the rule of the force of the great body of the people instead of the rule which protects the weak individual against all the people. (Applause.) And so, with the proposal that the people shall pass by vote upon the decisions of the judges as to constitutional questions; that means that wherever a constitutional limitation has been established to prevent the people from doing injustice, when it comes to the point of action they themselves shall determine whether they will be restrained by it or not in the particular case where the injustice may be done. These rules must be kept impersonal, abstract, universal, in order that they may restrain and guide action in each particular case. It is so that just men rule their own conduct. They do not make up their principles as they go along accordingly as they wish to do this or that or the other thing. They determine their principles and then they direct their conduct and restrain their wishes by making them conform to the principles they have adopted beforehand. These fundamental bases of our Government do together assert and set up as the great pivotal principle of

national conduct the proposition that there is such a thing as justice that is above majorities and is independent of popular will. (Applause.) All the votes in America cannot make injustice, justice. It is impossible that any two beings should be created anywhere in this universe and come into life without being subject to the eternal law that requires just conduct by them toward each other. Abraham Lincoln in the first inaugural described the true character of our government. He said: "A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinion and sentiment is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does of necessity fly to anarchy or despotism." Aye, whoever rejects the order of a majority acting within the restraints of these eternal principles declared in our Constitution flies of necessity to anarchy or despotism, and whoever breaks down the restraints of these eternal principles upon the majority, flies of necessity to anarchy or despotism. All these other matters are of little consequence, for this is the fundamental principle. This is a decisive question. It is along this line that the progress and development of our country has won its way. You may change it; you may depart from this old standard of justice enforced by an independent judiciary, as God's people many a time have turned their faces away from Him. You will not see the difference at once, not to-day, not to-morrow, or for many morrows, but the paths will surely and steadily be diverging; one pathway is the pathway of the decline and fall of nations, and it leads of necessity to anarchy or despotism. The other pathway is the glorious one upon which our country, with its constitution, declaring the everlasting principles of divine law, has proceeded in its majestic course of advancing civilization, leading the world in winning for all mankind, rich and poor, high and low, the inestimable privilege of liberty, with order, preserved by justice. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF FORMER SPEAKER JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR.

We should count it fortunate that a gathering of this sort, composed as it is of the representative Republicans of New York, whose coming together needs no defense against statute or custom, should take place at this time. A public arena is here afforded in which can be debated the exceedingly grave questions which assail the intelligence and conscience of the American people; and upon the deliberations here conducted the attention of all citizens may be thoughtfully directed. To discuss these questions is timely, it is proper, and it is patriotic. That time has gone by when thoughtful men can afford to regard with amused tolerance the efforts constantly expended toward destroying the structure of government erected on this continent in 1789. So successful have the enemies of a representative democracy appealed to the imagination of the people; so swiftly have they progressed toward radical change, that we already witness the virtual overthrow of the old form in many of our commonwealths, and its threatened destruction in all of them. After the capture of the states, which is confidently predicted, will come a mighty assault upon the Federal Government. In fact, the Federal Judiciary and the Federal Legislature have already been singled out for radical change, if we are to take seriously some proposals voiced upon the public platform or contained in pending bills and resolutions.

A Crisis in the History of the Country.

So to-day we Republicans have reached that point in our history as a party at which we must decide where our party shall stand in this nation-wide contest. Shall we view with indifference the efforts of agitators to establish a pure democracy in this nation, or shall we, true to our original purpose and all our subsequent history, strongly contend for the preservation of American institutions and the American Constitution?

Our government is being attacked to-day in all its branches—executive, legislative and judicial. Through the operation of what is known as the recall election, all executive and judicial officers are to be sapped of their courage and that degree of independence which is so essential to the intelligent performance of their functions, and are to

be compelled to accede to the popular whim or sentiment of the hour under pain of immediate removal and disgrace. By means of those twin weapons, known as the popular initiative and referendum, the legislative branch is being deprived of its power and sense of responsibility, and is being reduced to a condition which can hold forth no inducements to men of ability and self-respect; and, furthermore, and this is more important, the judiciary is being forestalled in any effort that branch might make in protecting the minority of the people from injustice and oppression at the hands of the majority. In fact, the ultimate object of this movement seems to be to remove every element of protection for the rights of the minority and to repose absolute and instantaneous power in the majority, regardless of the constantly shifting elements of which it is composed; and, strange to say, the proponents of these schemes to place instantaneous power and entire confidence in the mass, base their contention upon the assumption that the mass of the American people have shown no talent for selecting proper men to administer their government and make their laws.

The Initiative and Referendum.

The popular initiative and the referendum—and these I intend to discuss in particular—have been in operation to a greater or less extent for some years in our State governments, and it is possible for us to examine their workings and judge their results pretty accurately. For some time here in New York we have known the referendum as applied to constitutional amendments and propositions looking toward pledging the credit of the State, the initiative in these matters being left to the Legislature. While I believe that the Legislature and the Governor might well be granted somewhat broader powers in the matter of the State debt, no one contends against the submission of Constitutional amendments to the Electorate; the organic law setting forth the general principles which shall guide the government comes from the people; they have made it, and any effort to change its structure must be submitted to them for approval; the people themselves must act as a check upon their own representatives when it comes to changing the organic law. To contend otherwise is un-American. And yet the advocates of the extension of the referendum can derive little comfort from the practical operation of this principle; for, in spite of the importance attached to a proposal for amending the organic law, it seldom happens that the successful amendments receive an affirmative vote exceeding 33 per cent. of the total number voting for State officers on the same election day. As a matter of fact, even our Constitutional amendments are carried by a minority—a condition which does not promise

well for the operation of the initiative and referendum in the vastly broader and more complicated field of law-making.

But we do not find ourselves confined to the field of conjecture on this subject, for some States have already established complete schemes of direct legislation, and are now engaged in carrying them to their logical conclusion. In such States as South Dakota, Oregon and Oklahoma the door has been opened wide to law-making by direct popular vote. At the demand of a petition signed by a stated percentage of the voters, varying in the different States from five per cent. to ten per cent., an act of the Legislature must be referred to the people for ratification, or by a like percentage of signers a law or Constitutional amendment may be proposed and placed before the people without previous passage in or consideration by the Legislature. The door once having been opened to admit the entrance of this principle, the very momentum of the movement forces the opening of it to the widest extent. As a consequence, not only are subjects of the gravest and most far-reaching importance placed before the people of these States for their immediate approval or rejection, but a large number of trivial matters are at the same time forced upon the attention of the electorate. Whether it be the exceedingly important proposal for permitting three-fourths of a jury to render a verdict, which was made and approved in Oregon, or whether the question be simply the duties of a sheriff in relation to prisoners, or the changing of the boundaries of a single county, or the fixing of the salary of a district official, every proposal, great and small, which is petitioned for, must be voted upon.

How It Operates in Oregon.

Since 1904 in four elections, 64 proposed amendments and laws have been submitted to the people of Oregon—2 in 1904, 11 in 1906, 19 in 1908, and 32 in 1910. From this it appears that the number and variety of questions forced upon the attention of the people under this scheme is increasing by leaps and bounds, and the value placed upon a legislative body under these conditions is indicated by the refusal of the people of Oregon, as expressed in a popular referendum, to pay the members of their Legislature in excess of $120 per year. Of the 64 proposals, 26 have been Constitutional amendments, and it is to be remarked that the initiation of an amendment to the organic law is as easily accomplished as that of an ordinary bill. Should the courts invoke the well-known and carefully adjusted provisions of the Constitution for the protection of the minority and individual liberty, the majority, fanned by passionate resentment, may write its own doctrine into the Constitution in three months' time. The logical exten-

sion of this system to the municipalities of these commonwealths has already brought the local ordinances and charter provisions into inevitable conflict with the State laws, and the courts of these States are to-day puzzled in their attempts to reconcile the resultant inconsistencies. There can be no orderly progress or sysematic development of public policy as expressed in the Statutes, for all elements of guidance and control are of necessity removed. Constitutions practically cease to exist or become so filled with constantly added provisions properly belonging to Statute law that they no longer bear any resemblance to organic law, nor do they possess the requisite stability of a bill of rights.

An Age of Specialization.

We are accustomed to believe, and I think our belief is correct, that it is an age of specialization. Our modern social and economic conditions have become so complicated that through our very necessities we are calling upon students and specialists to help solve our difficulties. This same necessity exists in an equal degree in the conduct of government in its widespread functions. More and more do our executives and our legislative bodies require the advice of experts, and in recognition of the wisdom of obtaining such advice we have established both in the nation and the State investigating boards and commissions who shall devote their entire time and skill in examining various problems and making suitable recommendations to the executive and legislative branches. The comparatively recent acceptance of the wisdom of this policy constitutes real progress in governmental reform and improvement in social and economic conditions. Instead of strengthening and perfecting this policy of orderly progress, based upon expert testimony, the initiative and referendum make it impossible, and to that very serious extent they are retrogressive; for under this scheme laws are drawn in secret by irresponsible and self-constituted authors, without the calling of expert testimony and without seeking the advice of those who have made a special study of the subject affected by the proposed law. Through the activities of a small group of men, a law is placed before the people *de novo;* no opportunity for amendments is permitted, deliberate and exhaustive debate in the public forum is denied, the people are told that they must take it or leave it as it stands. The learned jurist and the experienced legislator must give way to the honest zealot or the crafty conspirator; and the courageous and far-seeing Chief Executive, curtailed of necessity in his veto power, must stand aside and witness the accumulating confusion. Surely by comparison this practice is reactionary rather than progressive.

Present System of Legislation by No Means Perfect.

It were idle for any one to contend that our present method of legislation is perfect; indeed, it is far from such. The complaints against it and its results are widespread, and in many respects fully justified. The fact that we believe that the remedies proposed by the radically inclined are worse than the disease, should not blind us to the necessity for vast improvement. I think every student of legislative methods and procedure will admit that many if not most of our laws are loosely drawn, carelessly considered, and in a great number of instances absolutely fail to accomplish the object desired. Whether by reason of ambiguity in language or the intentional insertion of misleading phrases, we find the administration of the law constantly handicapped and halted by the necessity of applying to the courts to declare what the law means and whether or not it is within the bounds set by the Constitution. Time and again the courts in effect are called upon to actually legislate, so obscure and imperfect are the laws submitted to them. Time and again the courts are compelled to declare a Statute, whose general object is much desired, utterly null and void. In my judgment the constant recurrence of these incidents, involving, to a very serious degree sometimes, the actual setting at naught of the popular will, has done more than anything else to arouse a general restlessness amongst the public and a greater or less degree of resentment against our law-makers and our judges. I contend that the fault does not lie in our system of representative government as such, nor does it lie with the legislators or judges as individuals. The fault lies in this fact that we have utterly neglected to perfect our methods of legislating. Little or no attention has been given in this country to the art of bill drafting, nor have any checks been provided against the indiscriminate introduction of bills in our legislative bodies. Introduced as they are without previous revision and submitted literlly by the thousands to our legislatures, it has become absolutely impossible under our present method to accord to them that careful consideration which the ever increasing complexity of our government demands. Something must be done, some additional agency must be created to assist the legislator in his task. Many years ago the great parliamentary bodies of England and the Continent recognized the necessity of some such instrument. For many years these bodies, and in particular the British Parliament, have employed trained experts to assist them in their legislating, and with astonishingly beneficial results. The necessity of referring all legislative proposals to a commission of expert revisionists before their introduction into the legslative body proper has been thoroughly recognized in Parliament, and not only has the mere introduction of bills been curtailed and controlled along intelli-

gent lines by this method, but time limits have been set by means of which the sudden introduction of a bill and its hasty passage is made impossible. If our body of laws is to be rescued from its present state of confusion, and if our law-makers are to be restored to that degree of public confidence which they intrinsically deserve and which the Constitution assumes they possess, some such method of perfecting and strengthening the legislative machinery must be adopted by this country. From time to time various steps in this direction have been taken, but unfortunately they have not been followed out to their full fruition, perhaps because the public has not enthused over a problem which seems one of technique merely.

New York's Legislative Bill-Drafting Bureau.

In this State a small beginning was made a few years ago by the etsablishment of a legislative bill-drafting bureau whose functions to-day are to extend expert assistance to members of the Legislature whenever they apply for it. Many additional steps are required before the object sought can be attained. The functions of this bureau should be enlarged and more power given to it. The submission of bills to a commission of recognized experts prior to their introduction and consideration by the Legislature should be made compulsory. Provisions should be made for the submission of proposed laws to this commission before the actual meeting of the Legislature, as far as they may be practicable. The objects sought to be attained should be stated at the outset, and the name or names of the proponents should be attached; and, furthermore, the filing of such a bill and the prescribed information accompanying it should be made a matter of public notice and advertisement for a stated period prior to its consideration by the Legislature itself; and a point of time should be fixed approximately midway in the annual session of the Legislature after which only bills which shall be deemed to be of the utmost importance shall be introduced. In no other way than by such a system as this—and I have no prejudice as to details—will we be able to secure genuine reform through the laws. In no other way will we be able permanently to be rid of the lobby, with all its sinister influences. In no other way shall we be able to establish a parliamentary bar whose members may take pride in being permitted to practise their profession in one of its highest branches before our law-making bodies. In no other way shall we be able to preserve the efficiency and dignity of the legislative branch of the government.

The People Govern Themselves.

The foundations of our government are laid in the principle that a people can best govern themselves by selecting from their midst rep-

resentatives who shall act for them and bear the responsibility in the broad light of day. And at no time have our people been unable to control their destinies under this system. No executive or legislature has ever succeeded in ultimately thwarting the popular will. If there has seemed to be delay at times, that delay has been generally compensated for by an added efficiency in the reform which is ultimately accomplished. The structure which has sheltered us for so many years has from time to time developed defects, but it has sheltered us remarkably well, and its foundations are built upon the rock of reason. We are urged to tear the structure down, uproot the foundations and substitute for it a scheme of government which is not new by any means, but rather is as old almost as human history. It was tried in the democracies of antiquity, and in every instance disaster, anarchy and tyranny resulted. It was tried in the Middle Ages, and again at the end of the Eighteenth Century. It always failed, for the simple reason that deliberative, calm reasoning was not made the cornerstone in its construction. It fell to the lot of the founders of this Republic to first solve the problem of self-government on a large scale; they did so by creating a Constitution and a government under which the people voluntarily place upon themselves restraints sufficient to protect them from the waves of passion and resentment which worked such destruction in the old form of pure democracy. Surely we have done well; certainly it would be foolhardy to tear down and destroy the structure of our fathers. Rather should we perfect and strengthen it, give it added efficiency and vitality, in order that we may perpetuate a genuine government by the people mirrored in conscience and reason.

SPEECH OF JOB E. HEDGES

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Convention: This begins to look like a real convention. Nothing has happened to contribute more to my peace of mind than the remarks of my very earnest and very sincere and very loyal friend, Mr. Prendergast. Sometimes, however, in the heat of advocacy the judgment may be turned from a strict line of reason. Doctor Butler needs no supporter in me, and yet one cause of solicitation can be removed here in a moment. The patent medicine man referred to yesterday was Doctor Woodrow Wilson. (Applause and laughter.) That would seem to relieve one element. Mr. Wilson is Doctor. He has applied for a patent. But it will not be issued. It is well as we sit here in convention to stop for a moment and see what our function is as a Party. I have been through the State with my good friend Prendergast many a time, and the encomiums passed upon our Party by Doctor Butler yesterday were as nothing compared with what Prendergast and I said it had done. And I wondered at the worthy Doctor's moderation. It occurred to me that he had been rather cursory in his study of the Republican Party. It is true that there is unrest all over the world. There always has been; there always will be, and there always should be. A man who cannot long for something better is not entitled to enjoy what he has. But whether a man is a progressive or not depends largely on the way he faced when he started. (Applause and laughter.) The good ship of state is well equipped when she has rudder and sail, and she can progress; but she may not get there if she doesn't have compass and chart. I have known men to be walking backward all their life, and they will—they are a providential dispensation to show other men the direction in which not to go. There is socialism in Germany; there is socialism on the Continent. There is socialism rampant in England; and why is it? Because the people who have come from there here have written back how much better we are here, and they are discontented in consequence. We haven't all we want. I haven't. It is natural for man to want more, and a man who does not want more could not enjoy it if he had it. (Laughter.) The question, my good friends, is on the divison. I know why brother Prendergast and I delight when people express divergent views. I know why he did not reply in full to Senator Root. Not because he is not eloquent, but because you cannot answer a proposition that is co-eval with the human race, and not to recognize which, turns back a providential dispensation. It is true that when a man goes to the front he is a coward or not as he starts, but it does not help his moral uprightness to tell him that when he gets there you are going to court-martial him for having done what you told him

to do. (Applause.) I do not worry about the Democrats having voted by the clock. I am glad they did. It shortened the day limit for the moment. We will practise the recall on them, Mr. Prendergast, regardless of this platform.

What a Democrat Is.

A Democrat is a man who only knows what isn't. A Democrat is a man constitutionally capacitated to be unhappy. You have got to take a vote some time, once in a while. They took theirs a few days ago. We will take ours in November. Mr. Prendergast asked a very proper question: Do we expect to convert the West to our ideas? Yes. (Applause.) They told us once that silver could be made gold and we told them it couldn't. And we talked as if we meant it, and they only said: Oh, we were fooling; that is all! Now, the Republican Party is human, thank God. (Laughter.) It is human enough to err, but also human enough to correct it. We have given everything decent to this country that it has had for the past six decades. We cannot do more than that; and if they leave us alone a little while, we will give them indigestion with the consumption of added benefits. It is true that the last fifteen years or so were largely occupied by a gentleman for whom this convention has not declared itself, and I am very glad personally that it was so occupied. I differ very widely from some of the doctrines of Mr. Roosevelt. I differ so widely that we can never come together upon them; but as long as I stand upon a platform where his personality may be an issue I would be unfair to my own sense of justice if I did not say one thing: that he alone made all the people of the United States think at the same time upon the duties of American citizenship. I differ from him when he says that having thought they must follow his ideas or be in error.

No Man Can Survive the Constitution.

I do not care personally whether a man occupies one term or two or three or forty. He cannot survive the Constitution. But I dread to think, Mr. Chairman, that the continuity of the Government must be predicated on a personality. Now, what is the situation in this State this fall? We had a primary in New York. I am here. We had one in Kings. Prendergast is here; and you are here, and you are glad that we are here, and if you aren't, we are. Do the people rule? Prendergast and I believe that they do. Have the people ruled? The government still exists. Will the people rule? And here Prendergast and I part. I leave it to the people to decide whether they will. No cloak on past responsibility can cover a present deformity. You cannot get any right to character by prescrip tion. Because we may have been

good in the past, it does not prove that we are now, nor does it demonstrate that we are bad. This is a little home circle, and it is a good thing to talk it out, and it does not make any difference what Prendergast or I think about each other or about Mr. Taft or about Mr. Roosevelt, because what he and I will say this fall about the Democratic nominee will do him no good. (Laughter.) Now, let us get down to business. Are we going to nominate Mr. Taft? Yes. (Applause.) Don't worry about me. It does not make me nervous. Are we going to elect him? Now, we have got that off Prendergast's mind. There is an ocular demonstration of the recall of an idea. Why are we going to elect Mr. Taft? I will tell you. You know. But I am going to tell you over again, because it is necessary. A vision that can only see something bad and nothing good is sort of self-stigmatized. I like to have a vision reach somewhere. I would rather have some visions reach somewhere than other things. We have spent no time in the past two or three years explaining to the people what they had. That is all the trouble. We have told them too often what they haven't, so that they almost believe it, and we have let other people tell them what they had not, and they said it so earnestly that they almost believed them, and they have not had time to think it over. Nearly sixty years ago we had to reaffirm the Constitution of the United States. People had run nearly seventy years and they were confused. People had told each other, without giving a reason, that something was wrong. The Republican Party showed them what was right, and we went on another fifty-six years. Now, it is a remarkable thing to me that this country should seem on the abyss of ruin, which it always does every Presidential year. It never goes over because we never let it get beyond our reach. I seldom hear people describe the *good* things we have.

Advantages of Life in This Country.

I hear nobody say that in this country of all places of this great world a man can best work out his own salvation according to his own desires. Somebody must believe it, because a few millions come here every year. They do not believe what we say about ourselves. They are ashamed of us, and they come over here to demonstrate their fate, and we learn our lesson from them. People are paid here, not all they want, of course; people have the advantages of intelligence and education and the dissemination of inclination. No, my friends, what we have been mixed up in in this country is this, and this is the solution of it: There is no question within the confines of the American government outside of religion and the duty a man owes to the God who

made him that is not affected by the casting of the ballot. They have not been cast, that is all, and when people get in the habit of casting them they will have no complaint. I have no patience with quiet virtue. What we want to begin to talk about now, my friends, is not rights but obligations; what does each man owe to the other; what is he doing to help that other. When he seeks his own preferment, is he considering the rest? And my answer is that of all the parties that have ever existed in this country there has been none so responsive to the will of the American people as the Republican party, and I have heard Prendergast say it a thousand times. My admiration for him was never greater than to-day. The same independence of mind that I demand for myself I accord him.

There is no question in American political life that we must not discuss. There is no theory in American life that we should not discuss. If talking could ruin the Constitution, God knows it would have been dissipated years ago. But an exchange of ideas in the spirit in which we claim to act always results in moral strength at the end. Why do we win and our Democratic friends lose as a rule? Because they do not think further than the limitations of a campaign; that is why. They are personal and we are impersonal. We have not heard much said about our Democratic friends here to-day, not that they are entitled to much conversation, but from habit I like to talk about them. Those fifteen thousand votes in New York County are not fatal; they were not a protest against Mr. Taft; they were a tribute of respect to Mr. Roosevelt, and he is entitled to have fifty thousand people in New York County pay him their respects and, if I am not in error, he will tell them between June and November that they can best show their respect for him by voting for Mr. Taft. (Applause.)

No Cause for Excitement.

Now, do not let us get excited. We go through this every four years. The conclusive argument for one candidate against another is that his opponent cannot win. The Republican Party is going to win, and we are going to vote for Mr. Taft because he believes in the proposition of conduct regardless of personality. His contract with the American people was to be President. He has fulfilled it. No act has he performed as President of the United States that did not lay its foundation stone in conscientious belief. If he has erred in judgment at any time, let any man in this audience rise and assert that he himself has never erred, and then listen for the trump of Gabriel to summon him hence. No, do not let us get frightened. I personally do not know so much about this initiative as some people do. I do know the market price of signatures to petitions. (Laughter and applause.)

Dangers of the Recall.

I do know that you can get lots of men to sign a petition for their own recall. I do not think a man is any wiser when he tries to recall something that he did in the beginning when he tried to call it up; no, they are all right; let them talk about them, they will try them; they are trying them, and in the very States mentioned they are discussing to-day whether they would not better recall their recall, and they are framing now an initiative that will result in the judicial recall of all systems. No. Just one solution if the body politic is afflicted with some sore, let us make it aseptic by purging it with the work of political activity now and then, and not talk about it all the time. Let us go to the polls and vote and we will be astonished at the result. Many people who are not represented in government are not entitled to be by virtue of anything they have done to get represented. Anybody can be represented who wants to be and will take the trouble to be. It takes too much time for other people to hand it to them. I differ with our Socialistic friends; I do not see why they should not want all they can get, but they must not take mine at the same time; that is all. I believe in trusts—two kinds.

Why He is a Republican.

I trust the God who made me, and the Republican Party which gave me my opportunities. I am for the party that makes men. I am for the party that has made this country. I am for the party that can see a principle before it can discover a man. I am for the party that is willing to admit that we are part of a providential dispensation. Now, let us, when we adjourn, after adopting these resolutions (laughter and applause) not talk about whether we are going to win, but how much we are going to win by. And whatever comment we may pass upon each other between now and June, let us consider it mere vocal practise and a sort of preliminary oratorical effort which will receive its greatest fruition when directed toward the man who is unconverted to our belief.

An Exhortation for Conciliation.

Let us take our principles as seriously as may be, but remember we are all human. We all want to get along. We all have pride in personal property. We claim property rights because they are the result of personal rights; but we are getting to a time now when we must give up a little effort, be a little less selfish, be a little more wholesome, and go into the campaign with head up; men alert and conscious of our history, apologize to no man on earth, and go ahead and win and quit prophesying.

WILLIAM BARNES, JR., EXPLAINS THE PLATFORM

After the adjournment of the convention William Barnes, Jr., Chairman of the Republican State Committee, issued the following statement:

"There should be no mistake in the minds of Republicans and of the electorate as a whole as to the meaning of this convention.

"It was an earnest, sober appeal to the electorate that its will should be expressed through mental coherence and deliberative judgment rather than through histrionic and ambitious declarations

"The platform endeavored to show the consistency and continuity of the development of American ideas and their formulation into law in an orderly rather than a disorderly manner. The achievements of the Republican Party have been all won through sobriety and appeal to reason rather than to prejudice. That party would be false to its entire internal quality and must change its physiognomy if it offers to the people vain hopes and dreams instead of substance.

"No one disagrees with the fact that from day to day and year to year improvement in political conditions and in the administration of public affairs should be made, but where our opponents differ from us is in the method. The convention which adjourned to-day believed that under our form of government great results have come and that that structure is amply able to fulfil whatever demand may be made upon it.

"The convention itself reflected the character of the platform in the dignity of its proceedings and the deliberation which characterized each successive act that it performed."

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